

## ■ OUR WORLD

## Eberhard Greven, icon painter in a prison cell

Eberhard Greven, one of this country's best icon painters, has spent the past twelve years in prison near Dortmund, where he is serving a life sentence for murder.

For six years he has been concentrating almost exclusively on old Byzantine paintings. Now he is visited by a constant stream of art experts and art lovers who buy icons from him or leave valuable pieces with him to be restored.

Greven, now aged 35, is allowed a small cell of his own to work in. He has to pay forty deutschmarks per day for this and the privilege of not having to work with the other prisoners. The cell walls are covered with religious pictures on all sides, and it is here that Greven receives his visitors.

When he talks about his life he divides it rigidly into two parts: his youth before he landed in prison at the age of 23, and the time he has spent inside since then.

His trial lasted three years. Then he went into the Ergst Prison. For years he lived with the drudgery of prison work. The grassweed stuffing from his mattress had to do instead of tobacco, the food he was given was "uninspiring to say the least."

Then at the beginning of the seventies the situation changed for prisoners serving life sentences and Greven was sent to work in the bookbinding department. Because he was good at working with his hands he was given the job of repairing valuable books.

Continued from page 11  
lutions between Telepool and Linda fizzled out.

Curt Linda offered to produce the film at a price of DM5,000 per minute of broadcasting time (taking eight months for the 22 episodes) but Telepool found this price too steep and offered DM3,000 per minute. As a result, a Yugoslav company was commissioned to make the film.

Says the head of Telepool: "The present world market price for animated cartoons ranges between 5,000 and 8,000 deutschmarks per minute. We got the Mouse for half that amount."

According to Herr Linda, there is a bleak future in store for this country's animators. As he puts it: "There are no special schools for animators, so they have to train new blood themselves. Moreover, the mass appeal of American and Japanese animated cartoons is more in demand with our TV networks than artistic quality."

(Münchener Merkur, 11 March 1977)

## Weight check for civil servants

Overweight people cannot become civil servants in Bavaria, the SPD concludes from an official statement made by Albert Meyer (CSU) in the Bavarian parliament, whereby a weight check is to be included in the medical inspection on all applicants for civil service posts.

One 22-year old police sergeant who weighed one hundred kilograms shot himself when a superior in the force told him he was too fat. On holiday in the Tyrol he had lost 14 kilograms

and was due for medical inspection a few days later.

The Bavarian Ministry of the Interior has been aware for some time that many applicants for posts in the police force are overweight.

All civil servants in Bavaria will have to undergo a medical inspection on applying for a trainee post and again before being permanently accepted in the civil service.

Karl Stankiewicz  
(Kölnischer Stadt-Anzeiger, 2 March 1977)



Eberhard Greven in his work cell  
(Photo: Franz Lothen)

For the first time in his life he saw Byzantine paintings, and they fascinated him from the start. He applied for and received permission to paint, and in the evenings he painted from memory in his cell. By chance the Danish monk Peter Jegor heard about Greven's work. He himself is a well-known icon painter and learned all about this special form of art on the Greek island of Athos. Parts of the icon canon are passed on only by work of mouth. So Peter Jegor went to the Ergst prison, stayed with the prison rector and taught Greven the basics of icon painting, Greek and Church Slavonic. Now when Greven paints icons he knows exactly what he is writing on them.

Greven continued to do prison work until last year. Then he had enough money to be able to set up on his own, so to speak.

Now he works an eighteen-hour day and can scarcely keep pace with demand. In addition he always has a stack of letters to answer.

Publications in the Federal Republic and abroad have long since brought him to the notice of art experts in various countries, including Britain and the USA. A few weeks ago the Herald Tribune and a Los Angeles newspaper wrote articles on him.

He has gained many new friends through his work and, as he says, his life is now completely changed.

Friends of his have managed to engineer a reconciliation between Greven and the widow of the man he shot.

For some time he has been paying extra sums to her in addition to the compensation money he is required to pay. Not long ago she wrote to him, "You have helped me more than I can say and my life is much easier now. I can only hope you are set free soon so that you can carry on with your icon paintings. I know that you will not forget me even then."

Freedom, however, is still a long way

off. On average "lifers" in North Rhine-Westphalia serve sentences of about twenty years. The regulations governing reprieves are now being revised.

North Rhine-Westphalia Minister of Justice Dieter Posser has proposed that courts might decide whether a prisoner is fit for reprieve or whether his term in prison should be continued after fifteen years. In this he is supported by state premier Heinz Kühn.

Peter Jegor, one of Eberhard Greven's closest friends, is convinced that Greven has the strength of character to settle down satisfactorily after his release.

Greven himself says, "I have prepared myself for my release. I can pay my debts with the money I earn painting. It's perfectly obvious that I shan't need any resocialising."

He has been paying off his debts for some years. Compensation to the murdered man's widow and costs of his trial and term in prison are costing him hundreds of thousands of deutschmarks, including interest.

What he cannot understand is "For years they made me work for practically nothing — only fifty pfennigs per day!"

Today he is earning considerably more. People buy his icons for anything from one to four thousand deutschmarks. Naturally at the moment he is able to save little.

Greven is something of a mystery to his fellow prisoners. Success sometimes makes life a little difficult for him, both with prisoners and prison officers who often resent and envy him.

His painting has led him towards the Greek Orthodox Church, and when he is released he intends to join it.

He is understandably asked one question time and time again, namely whether he thinks he would have discovered his talent had he not been sent to prison.

"No", he replies, "I'd almost certainly still be the same rotten person I was before. The shock had to come. But what a price to pay for it! I was just 23 years old and had a dead man on my conscience."

Carola Bönk  
(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 9 March 1977)

## Housewife's worth

The compensation a man and his family receives when a wife or mother is fatally injured varies considerably from case to case. Particularly fathers with young children are likely to get into severe difficulties.

At the fifteenth conference of Federal Traffic Court judges and experts, new compensation sums in cases where mothers are killed in road accidents were laid down.

Where a forty to 49 hour working week is involved, compensation to the extent of DM 2,500 will be granted. This is the average monthly wage a home help would be paid for this work.

Should the father decide to do without help he is entitled to 1,500 to 1,800 deutschmarks per month. This corresponds to the average net income of a home help.

(Nordwest Zeitung, 12 March 1977)

## Glucose vs. alcohol

Glucose helps reduce the blood alcohol level more quickly than one after drinking one too many, according to Hans Dielt of Frankfurt University, and Gerhard Ohlenschläger of the Göttingen Centre for Biochemistry.

They carried out tests on sixteen people and found that their blood alcohol level sank very much more quickly when they drank a mixture of glucose and vitamin C.

Glucose speeds up reoxidation of a catalyst in the body, NADH (Nicotinamide dinucleotide) so that the liver is able to produce more of the enzyme alcohol dehydrogenase which reduces the level of alcohol in blood.

Vitamin C most probably also influences certain metabolic processes, helping to reduce the blood alcohol level.

Herr Dielt and Herr Ohlenschläger published their findings in *Umbau, Wissenschaft und Technik*, 5, 1976. There they also noted that a higher dosage of vitamin C and glucose accelerated the process even more.

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 4 March 1977)

## No job after marriage

Most women stop working at least temporarily after getting married or having a baby. About two-thirds of the 17.3 million women who took jobs after leaving school have stopped working at least once.

The Federal Statistics Office in Wiesbaden says that 6.4 million of these women did not take a job again, while 5.3 million women found another job after a temporary break.

Approximately 36 per cent of these were off work for less than two years. Half the women were unable to return to their former occupations.

(Kölnischer Stadt-Anzeiger, 11 March 1977)

## Divorces double

More than 106,000 couples were divorced in 1975 according to statistics published by the Federal Statistics Office. This is an increase of 8.4 per cent against 1974.

The number of divorces in this country has doubled in the past twelve years. In 1975 for every ten thousand marriages there were 67.4 divorces. This is a high divorce rate as in 1950...

(Die Welt, 11 March 1977)

## The German Tribune

A WEEKLY REVIEW OF THE GERMAN PRESS

Hamburg, 3 April 1977  
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## EEC anniversary summit proves a damp squib

## Kieler Nachrichten

Nothing much came of the twentieth anniversary gathering of EEC leaders in Rome — nothing, that is, which was divulged to a wider public. The declarations made failed at any stage to transcend what has long been common knowledge.

One can but endorse the view of Sicco Mansholt, Dutch ex-president of the Common Market Commission, that the whip is currently more badly needed than the carrot. Ministers, he rightly notes, have lately been showing signs of tiredness in building a united Europe.

Under the guise of realpolitik and a pragmatic approach the public are being fobbed off with a policy of common inertia.

The European Council, as periodic gatherings of European Community heads of State and government are now known, surely has a threefold role:

— First, in conjunction with the people responsible for framing policy guidelines in their respective countries the leaders of the Nine ought to be outlining joint European policies by which the holders of the various Ministerial portfolios should be bound.

— Second, the Council should don the mantle of a court of appeal should government ministers from the individual EEC countries and members of the Common Market Commission in Brussels fail to reach agreement in the Council of Ministers.

— Third, the EEC summit gathering ought to boost morale within the Nine, bearing in mind that all Common Market countries are fraught with anxiety of one kind or another and would all start the day with minds more at ease if only they felt confident that the men at the helm were willing and able to act in an imaginative political manner.

The Common Market leaders measured up to none of these roles in Rome. Their declaration on the economic situation

within the EEC merely reiterated in shorter form what the Commission's report had to say on the subject.

What they had to say on ties with Japan was old hat from start to finish. Instead of warning Japan, as has been done in the past, not to pursue unduly aggressive export policies, the emphasis was laid on Japan importing more from Europe, which is what Marketeers and the Council of Ministers have been saying for ages.

EEC heads of government went on to emphasise the urgent need for revamping the steel industry, which has been in heavy weather for some time. This too hardly needed repeating.

What they had to say may reassure steelworkers threatened with redundancy. This at least is the excuse advanced for the lack of substance in the European Council's Rome proposals.

Bonn Chancellor Helmut Schmidt outlined to fellow-members a draft joint approach by the Nine to raw materials. Bonn has thus abandoned its inflexible opposition to international support arrangements.

Something may now be attempted in respect of selected commodities from which particularly poor countries should benefit. What is more, and better late than never, the prospects of a joint EEC outlook on this vital issue have taken a turn for the better.

What this country has suddenly rediscovered is a solution the Common Market has long practised in respect of some of its 52 overseas partners by the terms of the Lomé convention.

Bonn for long fought the so-called Stabex proposals tooth and nail — only to agree in the end after all.

The Nine also agreed to a compromise in Rome on the demands made by smaller members of the EEC for Common Market representation at the West-



In Rome for the twentieth anniversary celebrations of the EEC were, from left, French Head of State, Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, Belgium's Minister President Leo Tindemans, West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt, and British Prime Minister James Callaghan  
(Photo: dpa)

tern economic summit on 8 and 9 May in London.

Britain's Roy Jenkins, president of the EEC Commission, will attend the summit, but the Rome compromise on this issue was not greeted with unbounded enthusiasm and hardly constituted a highlight in progress towards European integration.

Britain, France, Italy and this country, the four leading members of the Nine, twice barred the doors of Western economic summit meetings to the other five — at Rambouillet in 1975 and Puerto Rico in 1976.

Did not the Common Market set out twenty years ago with a view to equal rights for all members? With the signing of the Treaty of Rome an end was to be put to the days when one European country counted for more than another because it had the larger population or manufactured its own nuclear weapons. Smaller member-countries were reminded of traumatic days of old when competing major European countries

brought the continent to the brink of disaster.

It is, perhaps, some consolation to note that it was Bonn which espoused the smaller members' cause and Helmut Schmidt who discreetly persuaded the other members of the European Council to consent to the compromise.

The Big Four's behaviour towards the other five at Rome was disgraceful. When they stated their case not one of the four felt in any way obliged to reply. Their statement was greeted with chilling silence.

The only hope the Rome gathering held forth was that the European Council now plans to hold meetings along lines different from the fireside chats of which Common Market leaders have hitherto expected so much.

Meetings are in future to be planned in advance and the agenda and debate to be organised. It is almost never too late; maybe something will yet come of the proposal.

Hermann Böke  
(Kieler Nachrichten, 28 March 1977)

## Little progress on Berlin in Moscow talks

Interest in intensifying relations on a treaty basis and not abandoning them to the prospect of stagnation in sectors other than trade.

Mr. Brezhnev would like to reactivate his Westpolitik and now that ties with the United States are less rosy than they used to be the Soviet leaders ought to be even more keenly interested in fostering relations with Western Europe.

Herr van Well seemed unlikely to deliver the goods because, furthermore, the tenor of public utterances on the two countries' divergent viewpoints has of late increased in acerbity.

Yet both Bonn and Moscow retain an

agreements are called for, and if agreement is not forthcoming on treaties that are already in the pipeline, then new ones must be concluded.

This approach is anything but frivolously coupled with a determination to achieve results at all costs. In the wake of Mr. Brezhnev's visit to Bonn three years ago the Soviet Union proposed initial cooperation in sectors that would not immediately involve the controversial status of West Berlin.

Moscow advised skirting issues that might relate to the status of the divided city avoiding trials of strength and circumventing matters relating to the interpretation of the September 1971 Four-Power Agreement.

Following the latest round of talks in the Soviet capital Bonn seems to be considering further moves along these lines. It could just as easily have done so three years ago.

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 26 March 1977)

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SELS fail to reach agreement in the Council of Ministers.

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## ■ EUROPE

## EEC celebrates its twentieth birthday

When the Treaties of Rome were signed on 25 March 1957, bringing into being the EEC and Euratom, only out-and-out enthusiasts believed that the reunification of Charlemagne's "Occidental Europe" would become reality.

Pessimists, on the other hand, forecast that these treaties would suffer the same fate as the European Defence Union. The integration of the armed forces of Belgium, France, Italy, Luxembourg and Holland with the re-armed Federal Republic of Germany and the attendant abolition of certain sovereignty rights was intended to provide the basis for the political unification of the Six. But the French National Assembly in its session of 29 August 1954 voted against the European Defence Union and for sovereignty.

As a result, dedicated Europeans such as Konrad Adenauer, the Belgian socialist Paul Henri Spaak, France's Robert Schuman, Italy's Alcide de Gasperi and Holland's Joseph Luns decided to bring about political unification via economic integration.

It was decided at the 1955 Foreign Ministers Conference in Messina to create Euratom in order to cement and keep together the partial and now disintegrating *Montanunion*, the six-nation coal and steel community.

This ushered in a dialectic process between material necessities and human emotions which is still in progress and which, in a material sense, proved a blessing for Europe.

Although the assumed and hoped for elements that would necessitate a political unification of Europe have not fully prevailed over the 19th century idea of the sovereign national state, they have nevertheless engendered a development process towards this final goal, albeit with setbacks.

In the Bonn Bundestag of that time, the Social Democrats engaged in an implacable battle against the unification of Western Europe.

West Germany was at that time divided into two camps, one of which saw as its foremost objective the reunification of Germany while the other pinned all its hopes on the reunification of the Occident. Only the Trade Union Federation realised from the very beginning that the material improvement and freedom of the working class could be guaranteed only by the West.

If Charles de Gaulle had been returned to power twelve months earlier or if the Treaties of Rome had been signed a year later, the EEC and Euratom would probably have been stillborn.

The first EEC Commission, headed by Adenauer's State Secretary Walter Hallstein and the European socialist Sicco Mansholt, made use of every opportunity to assert itself as the future "European Government" immediately after assuming office in 1958.

Although its scope of action did not equal that of the *Montanunion's* High Commission it was nevertheless in a position to create the legal framework for the Community's entire economic setup. Thus Hallstein's nine-man Commission soon outranked the High Commission and the Euratom Commission in prestige.

Great Britain, whose then Prime Min-

ister Winston Churchill imparted major impulses to the "non-repetition of the mistakes of 1919" and West European unification, initially remained aloof with regard to integration efforts. The Commonwealth was still a living organism at that time.

But already in 1957 London began to advocate a major European Free Trade Area as an alternative to the EEC; and in 1959 EFTA was formed with those West European states which had not joined the EEC, namely Ireland, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Austria, Switzerland and Portugal. It was subsequently joined by Iceland and Finland. The East Bloc reacted to the EEC by forming its counterpart Comecon.

By 1961 it was obvious that the EEC with its envisaged tariff union and the common agriculture market was stronger than EFTA with its gradual abolition of mutual industrial tariffs but without a uniform legal framework.

Greece opted for associate membership in the EEC while Ireland applied for membership, followed nine days later by Britain. Denmark followed suit, as did Norway a few months afterwards.

Meanwhile, the situation in France had changed, which attracted the Britons and Scandinavians even more.

President de Gaulle initially wavered between two possibilities: either the integration of the Six under French dominance or a restriction of the EEC to a mere supporting instrument for the French economy.

The first of these alternatives seemed feasible before Britain applied for entry, and the six heads of government contemplated a political union at their



Bonn summit meeting of 1961. But de Gaulle torpedoed the negotiations on 1962 after Holland's Foreign Minister Luns had made it clear that there could be no political union without London.

De Gaulle tried to salvage his supremacy plans by means of the Franco-German Friendship Treaty. But when it became obvious that, despite Adenauer, Bonn was unwilling to interpret this Treaty along Gaullist lines, the French President promptly broke off negotiations about British entry. Notwithstanding the realities and lessons of two world wars, 19th century foreign policy ideas once more gained the upper hand in Paris.

But Franco's five partners refused to give up. And so it was decided in 1965 to amalgamate the EEC, Euratom and *Montanunion*.

In 1966 the EEC decided to complete the common agriculture market as a concession to France after Paris (in the so-called Luxembourg Compromise), following an empty-chair policy in the Ministerial Council, had seemingly destroyed the supra-national nature of the EEC.

There was henceforth to be no more majority vote in the Ministerial Council. The veto right as an anchor of national sovereignty was established and remains in force to this day.

In 1967, the EEC, acting as a community, agreed to tariff reductions with-

in the framework of GATT, thus bringing the Kennedy Round of talks to an end. The EEC was thus for the first time recognised as a negotiating partner in international agreements, and in 1968 the Six completed their tariff union.

The end of the de Gaulle era in 1968 opened up new perspectives. Great Britain, Norway, Denmark and Ireland had re-applied for entry in 1967. Georges Pompidou, France's new President, and Bonn's newly-elected Chancellor Willy Brandt decided to resume efforts at bringing about a political union.

The historic compromise was then reached at the EEC summit in The Hague in 1969. French interests were to be safeguarded by a lasting financing of the common agriculture market — in other words, the Community was to finance itself out of its own resources — to be followed by the accession to the EEC of the four candidates.

At the same time it was realised that the Community could only last if the tariff union was augmented by an economic and monetary union out of which a political union would arise of its own accord.

But difficulties arose once more. Britain, Denmark and Ireland joined the EEC in 1973 (the people of Norway voted against entry in a referendum).

At the same time the EFTA countries that remained concluded free trade treaties with the EEC. This created the long envisaged major free trade area with the tariff union of the Nine as a nucleus. But the monetary union was rendered impossible by the deterioration of the international monetary system.

But Europe was fortunate once more. Had the tariff union still been incomplete it would probably have been impossible to complete it after 1973, and the economic crisis in the wake of the Opec embargo would have led to a trade war with disastrous consequences.

Simultaneously with the transformation of the European Economic Community into a European Community a number of further steps were taken, among them foreign policy cooperation which resulted from the common foreign trade policy of the tariff union; and the Nine became a giant with international responsibility.

The Community's Mediterranean policy led to cooperation treaties with all countries bordering the Mediterranean excepting Libya and Albania. The Euro-Arab dialogue was resumed as a result of the shock imparted by the oil crisis.

The year 1975 saw the conclusion of a cooperation treaty between the Community and 46 African, Caribbean and Pacific states which must be regarded as a model of modern development policy among equal partners... and even Comecon established contacts with its West European counterpart.

The Community has meanwhile become extremely attractive to the semi-developed states in Southern Europe. They hope, among other things, that the Community will help them safeguard their young democracies against possible dictatorial takeover intentions, be it from the left or from the right. Greece applied for entry in 1975; Portugal and Spain are about to follow suit.

But the heads of government of the Nine have meanwhile arrived at the realisation that a monetary and political union are still not in the offing. The road to a monetary union is blocked by differing conditions in the various national economies and that to a political union by the sovereignty obsession of political circles in France, Britain and Denmark.

At the end of 1974, France's Giscard d'Estaing and West Germany's Helmut

## History of the EEC

18. April 1951  
Signing of *Montanunion* Treaty (European Coal and Steel Community).  
25 March 1957  
Signing of Treaties of Rome establishing the EEC and Euratom.  
July/August 1961  
Great Britain, Ireland and Denmark apply for EEC membership, followed by Norway in April 1962.  
January 1963  
Membership negotiations broken off as a result of French move.  
10 May 1965  
Membership applicants re-apply; negotiations founder again on 19 December.  
30 July 1970  
Negotiations with the four applicant nations resume.  
19 November 1970  
First foreign policy consultations of EEC foreign ministers within the framework of political cooperation in Munich.  
22 January 1972  
Signing of Membership Act in respect of Denmark, Great Britain, Ireland and Norway.  
28 September 1972  
Norwegians reject EEC membership.  
1 and 2 December 1975  
European Council decides to hold first direct elections to European Parliament in May or June 1978.

Schmidt explored avenues that would lead them out of the impasse. The solution has perhaps been found in a form of direct elections to the European Parliament in May or June 1978.

Political forces in direct election must operate on an EEC level. This instance anti-European Labour must join forces with Socialists and Social Democrats from other European countries and form a common parliamentary party in the European Parliament if they are to achieve anything — or, as an alternative, they must join the anti-European Gaullists.

The same applies to the anti-European French Communists who have hitherto coalesced with the pro-European Italian Communists in the indirectly elected EEC Parliament.

The working out of a joint election platform necessitates transnational compromises. The train of events has been set in motion although the first direct European elections might not be envisaged, take place next year but then.

Britain's anti-Europeans suffered a crushing defeat in 1975 when two-thirds of the population voted in favour of the Community — albeit for a Community as it is today and not as it might be in the future.

That developments are not static is borne out by the events of the past few months. The Nine extended their fishing limits along the Atlantic coast to 200 miles. Great Britain and Ireland were only in a position to impose their limits because they enjoy the Community's protection. As a result, a new Community policy — the fisheries policy — Continued on page 14

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## ■ FOREIGN AFFAIRS

## US attitude on nuclear deal with Brazil upsets Bonn

A bevy of time bombs are ticking away in the undergrowth of ties between this country and the United States, and one of them is equipped with a nuclear warhead.

Will the Carter administration demonstrate sufficient patience and circumspection to defuse this volatile package or will stubbornness and an "I told you so" outlook send the balloon up?

After meeting Mr. Carter, Willy Brandt did, of course, say that he rated the prospects highly, all things considered. Bonn Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher likewise announced, on his return from an off-the-cuff visit to Washington, that there would definitely be no trouble.

Participants in the joint gathering at Princeton will also have found it tempting to feel that relations between this country and the United States are reassuringly harmonious, but the fact of the matter is that ties between Bonn and Washington are in the throes of a crisis.

Bonn Defence Minister Georg Leber feels the Americans have pulled the wool over his eyes in armaments cooperation, and rightly so where the Leopard tank is concerned.

In economic policy President Carter and Chancellor Schmidt are poles apart in the aspects to which they attach particular importance. While Mr. Carter would like the more buoyant industrialised countries to reflate, Herr Schmidt considers any such move a grave mistake.

The two countries are heading towards a particularly devastating collision on atoms for peace, and recent diplomatic feelers have signalled no change in this respect.

The foremost bone of contention in respect of nuclear policy is this country's deal with Brazil, comprising the sale of not only eight light-water power reactors, but also uranium enrichment plant and an installation for reprocessing spent fuel rods.

The Americans are dead set against this hand-over of the entire nuclear fuel cycle. US government officials may have approved of the deal with Brazil at the London meeting of the suppliers' club and the International Atomic Energy Agency in Vienna, but the Carter administration will now hear nothing of any such approval.

Washington is calling for what Mr. Carter demanded during his election campaign — an embargo on the sale to Brazil of sensitive technology, especially reprocessing plant producing plutonium that could be used to manufacture nuclear warheads.

The President has written to Helmut Schmidt reiterating this demand in no uncertain terms and Willy Brandt, the Bonn Social Democrat leader, returned from Washington persuaded that Mr. Carter, despite his mild and courteous manner, was absolutely determined on this point.

The President's viewpoint is by no means primarily a matter of business interests, which does not make matters any easier. Were cash and commercial competition all that were at stake, compromises would be far less difficult to reach.

The difference of viewpoint is, however, profoundly philosophical, not to

say theological, and correspondingly difficult to bridge. Both sides agree that proliferation of nuclear arms must be forestalled as far as possible, but views diverge substantially as to what is likely to encourage or discourage proliferation.

Views differ in three respects: — First, Bonn is relying on binding assurances given by the United States following protracted negotiations leading up to the non-proliferation treaty.

On 15 May 1968, for instance, the US government assured Bonn that "there are no grounds whatever for anxiety lest the (non-proliferation) treaty impose bans or limitations on non-nuclear States with regard to the possibility of them developing their capabilities in nuclear science and technology."

In a note circulated in connection with the signing of the treaty Bonn declared, after consulting Washington on this point, that the treaty would "not ban nuclear activity in respect of research, development, manufacture or peaceful use; nor may the supply of know-how, material and equipment to non-nuclear States be refused solely on account of allegations that any such activity or supply might be used to manufacture nuclear warheads or other nuclear devices."

On this point the Americans are unilaterally claiming the right to reinterpret the terms of the non-proliferation treaty as indisputably understood at the time of signing.

— Second, which is more conducive to the objective of non-proliferation? — supplying Third World countries with the lock, stock and barrel of nuclear technology or a strategy aimed at refusing them access to nuclear know-how?

The US government advocates denying access to enrichment and reprocessing technology, since Washington has never placed much faith in security and inspection procedures, especially since India joined the nuclear club in 1974.

America has an uneasy feeling that the spread of advanced scientific knowledge will inevitably tempt countries to try their hand at manufacturing nuclear devices.

This country, on the other hand, reckons that a refusal to supply know-how and equipment will have the op-

posite effect to that intended. Even countries that are no particularly interested in nuclear weapons of their own will, Bonn argues, decide to press ahead regardless if the "haves" refuse to cooperate.

Bonn maintains that countries intent on getting hold of nuclear devices of their own can do so faster, more easily and at less expense than by contracting to buy nuclear power installations and diverting the by-products of the fuel cycle.

By supplying the "have-nots" with nuclear technology, subject to strict political conditions and inspection procedures, Bonn feels the nuclear powers are more likely to serve the purpose of non-proliferation.

What is more, this country wonders how President Carter can possibly hope to reconcile his undertaking to step up to the Third World with a refusal to grant the developing countries access to the most up-to-the-minute sources of energy.

— Third, the Bonn government concluded the deal with Brazil primarily in order to help ensure future supplies of uranium. America has proved a most unreliable supplier.

In 1974 the United States refused to renew the current agreement to supply this country with enriched uranium, which expires in 1980. The demands on America's enrichment capacity are, in any case, far in excess of US ability to deliver.

The United States has recently taken to withholding a few kilograms of super-enriched uranium destined for research reactors in this country but, of course, so refined as to constitute the potential makings of nuclear warheads.

How can Bonn be sure, in the circumstances, that Washington will stand by future undertakings? How convincing is the US argument that America can be trusted, whereas Brazil cannot?

There is more to US objections to Bonn's nuclear deal with Brazil than the aspects so far outlined, needless to say. President Carter's associates do not merely want to dissuade this country from exporting allegedly sensitive equipment.

America would like to prevent the Federal Republic from developing its

nuclear industry beyond the initial stages of light-water reactors. It would prefer us not to run reprocessing installations of our own and, given the opportunity, would soonest dissuade or prohibit Bonn's development of fast breeder reactors.

The United States fails to appreciate that reprocessing is the best means of nuclear waste disposal in densely-populated West Germany. Washington also refuses to admit that the risk of plutonium being diverted for military use from an immediate recycling production line is negligible.

America similarly refuses to appreciate that reprocessing is likely to reduce demand for uranium by between twenty and thirty per cent; thus the United States maintains its reputation for squandering energy resources.

US arguments are not rendered any the more credible by being fielded mainly by political scientists rather than by nuclear specialists.

This is not to say that they may not be right, but they ought not to try to force their views upon us. This country must be allowed to freely formulate its own viewpoint, taking its own requirements into account.

There can be no question of another country imposing a ruling on us, nor yet

## DIE ZEIT

of President Carter making common cause with left-wing opponents of nuclear power.

Opponents of nuclear power in this country recently appealed to President Carter to provide a token of his earnest by cutting US budget allocations for fast breeders and reprocessing plant.

Whether by coincidence or not, the President has indeed cut appropriations by \$200 million. But what is the point? Mr. Carter must come to a decision as to who he intends to eat with — either with the Chancellor or with his opponents.

He must, indeed, consider how he is to conduct political affairs. Rulings based on gut reaction and emotion are not going to get him very far. His convictions are not so sublime that others can be expected to accept them unquestioningly as a yardstick.

This being the case, Bonn is best advised to stick to its guns, bearing in mind that views on the other side of the Atlantic are by no means unanimous.

By all means let us intensify safeguards and inspection procedures in Brazil. Why not multinationalise reprocessing there? And who could possibly object to further development of the non-proliferation treaty?

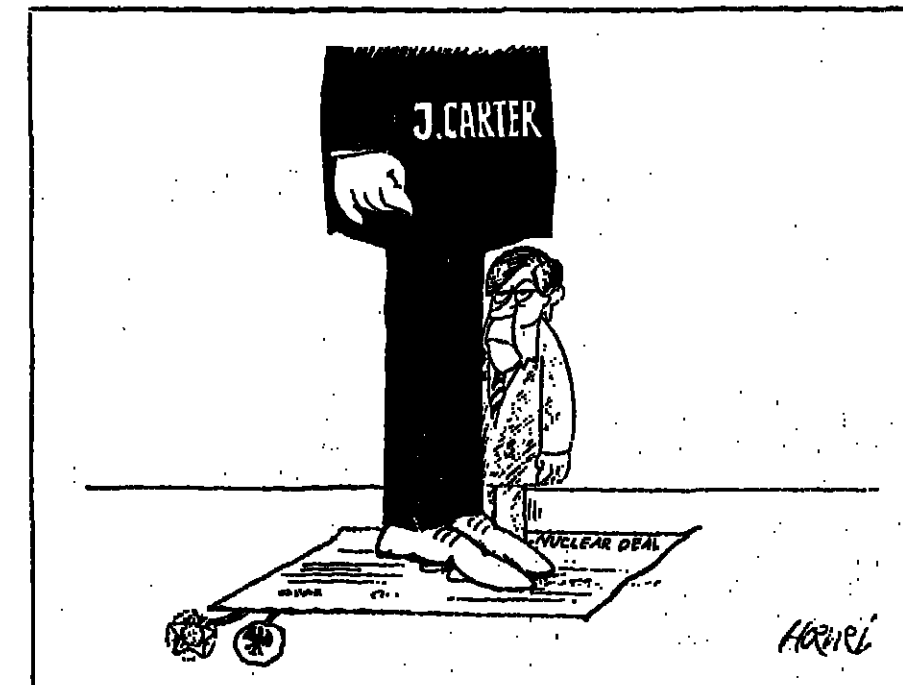
But there must be no question of total capitulation to an America that now appears to envisage a monopoly of atoms for peace in addition to its nuclear monopoly in the military sector.

Are peaceful uses of nuclear technology to be restricted to the nuclear club? This surely was not the idea behind the non-proliferation treaty.

When the treaty was signed Franz Josef Strauss suggested that it might yet turn out to have been a Versailles of cosmic proportions. Surely the late General de Gaulle is not going to be proved accurate in his forecast that sooner or later everyone will be a Gaullist.

At the present rate President Carter may yet convert advocates of transatlantic solidarity in this country into convinced Gaullists. The time bomb really is ticking away in the undergrowth.

Theo Sommer  
(Die Zeit, 16 March 1977)



Brake shoe  
(Cartoon: Walter Hanel/Kölnischer Stadt-Anzeiger)



## ■ OSTPOLITIK

## East-West relations continue to deteriorate

Our relations with the East are deteriorating — not dramatically but steadily. With its refusal to permit entry to roughly 170 visitors to the Leipzig Fair the GDR continued a course it had embarked on some time ago by barring from entry people who had recently left the GDR or who maintained contact with GDR citizens contemplating doing so.

It is a bad sign indeed that the SED, East Berlin's Socialist Unity Party, pursued this policy without regard for the image of the Leipzig Fair as a broad-minded and "open to the world" event — the image it is trying to promote.

But even more worrying is the systematic manner in which, since the beginning of this year, the GDR is trying to give East Berlin the legal status of GDR territory and thus undermining the Four-Power status of all sectors of the city.

Up to now, the staff of the British, French and American occupation forces has remained unaffected. But a couple of weeks ago the Soviet Ambassador to East Berlin, Pyotr Abrassimov, flatly denied that the Western allies had any rights in East Berlin.

There is of course nothing new about this contention, but this time it was put forward so demonstratively as to make it virtually certain that there is an ulterior motive behind it. If the Soviet Union were to act on its threat and bar members of the Allied forces from East Berlin a confrontation would be inevitable.

Even more serious would be the implementation of the recent GDR civil aviation regulation in which that country claims full sovereignty over its airspace, which means that the Western Powers would have to negotiate air traffic rights to and from Berlin with the GDR. But this, too, is not new. Nikita Khrushchev and Walter Ulbricht put forward the same demand in the summer of 1961 and withdrew it again in the face of America's implacable attitude. Instead, however, they built the Wall.

There is nothing to indicate at present that Moscow wants a new Berlin crisis, although it is preparing the instruments with which to create one.

Right now the East bloc action is no more than a hidden threat, but in the long run it is the vehicle for a changed and stiffer policy vis-à-vis the West.

It seems relatively unimportant in this context whether this two-tier policy is planned or whether it is due to two different views among the East bloc leadership. Presumably, it is both. What matters is that détente, although disputed in most East bloc capitals, continues without being taken for granted and with reservations.

Helsinki and Eurocommunism have provided the peoples and political parties of Eastern Europe with an explosive situation which, given economically difficult times, could easily detonate — a fear particularly harboured by those who are responsible for internal security.

This also explains why the SED leadership is implementing certain "sovereignty measures" regardless of the response which these might meet. It further explains how forces could come to the fore in Poland which have long disagreed with party boss Edward

Gierek's liberal course and his open-minded attitude towards Bonn.

Moreover, President Carter's public statements in connection with the human rights campaign have obviously been taken as a provocation by the East bloc and have anything but contributed towards defusing the situation. On the contrary, they ushered in a new process of ideologising East-West relations.

In the West of course Mr Carter's attitude has lent new impetus to those who confuse polemics with politics. But should the US President continue on his present course, he would not only jeopardise East bloc dissidents but would also contribute towards an unholy alliance between the military, the security setup, the propagandists and the ideologists which would strengthen the hand of those who oppose détente.

It goes without saying that future East-West relations depend largely on Washington and Moscow. But the operative word in this context is "largely."

It has been a tenet of West European Ostpolitik that the meshing of interests would create a certain stability in bilateral relations, thus making Ostpolitik relatively independent of accidents in major power politics and the capricious vagaries of these powers. What has been done in Bonn during the past few years to contribute towards stability in Ostpolitik?

Relations with the Soviet Union have not been fostered any further. And where relations with Poland are concerned, the success of the Schmidt-Gierek treaties is being followed up by thoughtless bureaucracy which provides

the more rabid elements in Warsaw with plenty of pretexts for a relapse into old conditions.

And in Bonn-GDR relations and the Berlin question, circumspection and consideration is all that can be chalked up — and even this does not apply to the whole of the Bonn government. So far as the MBFR talks in Vienna are concerned Chancellor Schmidt announced last year that new initiatives would be forthcoming. But now the subject seems to be off the agenda altogether — or at least it is no longer being mentioned in Bonn.

The old truism that Berlin policy, Deutschlandpolitik, Ostpolitik and military policy must be planned in conjunction with each other seems to have been forgotten. There are hardly any vestiges left of former efforts to sway our allies into pursuing an open-minded Ostpolitik of the part of the West. Bonn is today the slowest ship in the convoy.

Instead of building up steam for his ship of state, Foreign Minister Genscher indulges in legal interpretations wherever he goes. But it has always been part and parcel of Ostpolitik to articulate principles without doing much else.

And yet it would be fallacious to suspect that there have been any changes in Bonn's Ostpolitik. The Federal government's attitude in critical situations — an attitude usually determined by the Chancellor — demonstrates that common sense still prevails. But this attitude, while preventing certain things, has achieved little.

There is no lack of goodwill in Bonn although there is decidedly an unwillingness

concerning any commitment in matters of Ostpolitik. The government took months to summon the Ministers concerned to a conference and once the conference was about it was adjourned without having reached any policy decisions.

If the upper echelons cannot arrive at a decision because they lack the time because they are unable to reach agreement on a course of action there is little that can transpire on lower levels.

No one can say with certainty that our position would be better if the government had tried harder. But, by the same token, it is obvious that the government has made no effort at all. This passive attitude is particularly hard to understand in view of the fact that our relations with the East have been deteriorating steadily for a long time and that the reasons for deterioration are plainly visible.

The government knows that deterioration is its effects in the East — become both a more tedious and a risky business, and yet it has done little to stimulate the East bloc's interest in relaxation of tensions.

The Bonn government is clearly aware of the fact that Leonid Brezhnev, Edward Gierek and Erich Honecker to fight for a middle-of-the-road, moderately liberal course, and yet it has little to lend a discreet hand. A firm, implacable stand could suffice to prevent crises.

How is the Soviet undermining of Berlin status to be stopped if not by policy that would make it clear that does not pay to antagonise Bonn further?

Activities in the trade sector, Western efforts at bringing about a détente and proposals for troop reductions are all very well — but what we need is a policy which would once more underline the fact that we do have such a thing as Ostpolitik.

Peter Bender  
(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt  
20 March 1977)

## No new concepts in relations with the GDR

million. They subdivide as follows: DM400 million for visa and other fees relating to transit traffic to and from Berlin; DM20 million for the further development of the transit autobahn; DM51 million for new railroad stations along Berlin routes; DM25 million in fees for travel to the GDR; DM8 million for visas in connection with traffic along inland waterways; DM30 million in postal fees and DM131 million paid in order to obtain the release of political prisoners and for family reunification.

Some DM5,000 million have been transferred to the GDR from Federal coffers since 1970. Of course, had these amounts not been transferred in full or had transfers been delayed the GDR would have retaliated by not delivering the "goods" for which these amounts constituted payment. And of course no one would want such a contingency to arise. Down-to-earth politicians, regardless of party affiliation, know that these payments are no suitable tool in exerting pressure on the SED leadership.

But this does not mean that every hostile gesture must be permitted to go uncounted. While Minister Franke believes that we must not permit ourselves to react in anger, other SPD politicians consider strong action on the part of the Bonn government quite feasible.

It is thus not unlikely that the introduction of road tolls for the highway links to East Berlin by the GDR will be countered by Bonn introducing tolls for the use of West German roads by GDR lorries.

This would not bring much in monetary terms but it would give the Federal Republic a lever in negotiations about the abolition of such tolls. It is conceivable that the outcome of such negotiations would be the relinquishing of tolls on both sides.

Although the Federal government has been postponing a decision on this issue, it is unlikely that guarantees for the trade between the two Germanies will be raised. These guarantees — credits to East German suppliers — are to be confused with the line of credit generally known as "Swing" which presently stands at DM850 million. The guarantees involve DM2,000 million and have been fully utilised.

The GDR showed interest in increasing the line of credit granted under the Swing procedure to DM1,200 million in order to finance some major projects. But since a major contract was slated to go to the West German Salter AG steelworks was finally awarded to an Italian company, Bonn no longer has any incentive to increase the line of credit.

In any event, the whole issue will come to the crunch until 1980 when the future extent of Swing is to be decided. Unless any other agreement is reached, this line of credit will be cut.

Continued on page 6

## ■ HOME AFFAIRS

## The Government is in a sorry state

Following his party's losses in last year's Bundestag election, which he won by the skin of his teeth, Chancellor Helmut Schmidt believed that he would in future have to concentrate more on foreign affairs than on domestic politics.

But the very opposite has transpired. The pensions debacle and the attempted reduction of public health expenditure followed by the struggle over nuclear energy and, finally, to top it all, the bugging affair have blocked the runway for the take-off of the second Schmidt/Genscher government. No matter how one looks at it, this government is in a sorry state.

The electorate reacted accordingly in the recent Hesse municipal elections. Sympathisers with the Social and Free Democratic coalition defeated en masse to the CDU.

To add insult to injury, the Juso (Young Socialist) leadership went from "Red" Heidemarie Wiczorek-Zeul to the even more leftist Marxist theoretician Klaus-Uwe Benneter, which obviously entailed a further loss of prestige for the Social Democrats in government.

Moreover, Helmut Schmidt, whose forte is economic policy, cannot expect to gain in prestige by developments in the economy and on the labour market. The question that comes to the fore is: How long will Schmidt's tenure of office be guaranteed by the weakness of the Opposition CDU/CSU?

The bugging scandal did not add stature to Helmut Kohl but to the SPD Parliamentary floor leader Herbert Wehner who became the major figure of the legislative branch of government. It was he whose persistent questions kept the government on its toes.

The second Schmidt/Genscher government has been unlucky in the past

three months. And there are growing doubts as to whether the Coalition in Bonn can survive many more such crises.

In any event, the acute danger of a deterioration of the Coalition was overcome in the nick of time and on the verge of an abyss, so to speak. This is largely due to the determination of the major SPD and FDP politicians to remain at the helm.

The Chancellor is well aware of his party's growing distaste for the political tenacity of the Free Democrats — a distaste which, on occasion, has been directed against Helmut Schmidt as well. But most SPD officials still believe that their party cannot provide a Chancellor without its FDP ally and that only Herr Schmidt can at present fill this office.

As a result, Helmut Schmidt's present situation — no matter how precarious — cannot be likened to the disintegration three years ago which led to the resignation of Chancellor Willy Brandt.

Herbert Krump, editor of the daily *Die Welt*, who recently speculated on certain remarks of Herbert Wehner, deducing from them that the latter was ready to topple the Chancellor and once more assign an opposition role to their SPD, is clearly on thin ice.

But what about Herr Genscher's interests? Although they differ from those of the Chancellor, the FDP leader nevertheless wants to preserve his coalition. Participation in government enjoys absolute priority with the Free Democrats, and they are aware that any departure from the Social and Free Democratic coalition before 1980 would be political suicide.

A switch from the internationally respected Helmut Schmidt to the novice Helmut Kohl is not very attractive to

Genscher — nor is it attractive to Minister of Economic Affairs Hans Friedrichs. Thus all internal conflicts are transcended by Schmidt's and Genscher's common interest in remaining in power. And this provides a certain safety net in crises.

But the uncertainty remains and so does the chariness of the electorate. The traditional stability of the Federal Republic does not include the continuity of the Bonn Coalition. In fact, never has a Chancellor carried a heavier burden!

With it all, Helmut Schmidt was not too far off when, on assuming his second term of office, he showed more concern for the political situation of our neighbours than that of his own country.

In France, Socialist successes in municipal elections gave President Giscard d'Estaing a foretaste of the outcome of the parliamentary elections next year. Britain's Prime Minister James Callaghan only just managed to survive a vote of no confidence with the help of the Liberals; Holland's Prime Minister had to resign; and in Italy, Premier Giulio Andreotti is dragging himself from one crisis to the next. Helmut Schmidt is thus surrounded by teetering partners in Europe, and to make matters worse, there is the uncertainty about Washington's future course.

It goes without saying that Chancellor Schmidt's leverage in international politics is largely dependent on the strength of his position at home. At present, he no longer seems to make policy; instead, he only reacts to crises that confront him. In fact, it could almost be said that survival is all that matters to the Coalition at the moment — and that is clearly not enough.

Unless he manages to summon up his old vitality and leadership on the domestic front — a vitality and leadership to which he owes his re-election — Helmut Schmidt is bound to lose his grip in foreign policy. If this were to come to pass the Coalition would be unlikely to survive until 1980.

Kurt Becker  
(Die Zeit, 25 March 1977)

## CDU's Hesse poll success a shock for Bonn

With it all, the outcome of the elections is to some extent also due to past failures on the part of municipalities.

This was particularly painfully experienced by Rudi Arndt, the Mayor of Frankfurt, whose involvement in the affair with the party contributions became a permanent topic of discussion among the citizenry.

The much disputed local government reform, too, played a major role. In the newly created monster city Lahn the citizen used his ballot to rebel against bureaucratic centralism.

In any event, the Social Democrats, used to victory as they were, arrived at the painful realisation that their mandate is limited in time and that no political party has a vested right in any one state.

The warning signals of the lost state election of 1974 when, for the first time, the CDU emerged the strongest party in Hesse were pooh-poohed, and rigid party structures and politicians who were down and out continued to dominate the Hesse SPD. But not for long.

The new State Premier, Holger Bör-

## Hard-liner leads Young Socialists

Klaus-Uwe Benneter, a 30 year old Berlin lawyer, was elected chairman of the Young Socialists at the organisation's conference in Hamburg on 20 March. The Young Socialists (Jusos) is the SPD youth organisation. Herr Benneter belongs to the "Stamokap" (Staatsmonopolistischer Kapitalismus) Marxist wing.

Those who cocked a sensitive ear to the applause that greeted the speeches of the three candidates for the succession to Juso Chairman Heidemarie Wiczorek-Zeul at the Hamburg Congress Centre on 20 March could anticipate the sensation that was later to materialise. Klaus-Uwe Benneter received more applause from the 300 delegates than his colourless competitors Wolfgang Jüttner and Ottmar Schreiner.

With a Stamokap man at the helm — a man who considers the state a stooge of capitalism and who persists in his demands that industry be nationalised — the young people's SPD is clearly heading for difficult times.

Admonishments by Bonn as well as the trade unions to elect the moderate, Ottmar Schreiner, went unheeded in Hamburg and might in fact have had the very opposite effect.

Mistrust of "old comrades up there", as one of the delegates put it, is more deeply seated than ever. Benneter received the greatest applause when he said, "with me at the head the Jusos will become more uncomfortable to live with than they have been hitherto." And this is quite so.

If Benneter succeeds in pursuing the Stamokap course it is, in the long run, possible that the SPD might part company with its unloved youth section. But it is equally possible that the Jusos will split into two groups should Benneter insist on pursuing his uncompromising leftist course. It is also possible that, because he won the election with a majority of only four, the new Juso boss will tread cautiously.

Thomas Wolpert  
(Lübecker Nachrichten, 22 March 1977)

Jusos



## ■ TRADE

## Bonn's imports increase by more than their fair share

The Federal Republic of Germany did its share in boosting the world's economy last year. This must be pointed out to those who demand that we embark on a more expansionist course.

Countries with less buoyant economies have been demanding that the economically strong states step on the gas and tolerate somewhat higher inflation rates in order to help the weaker ones overcome their difficulties.

Such appeals are out of place in Bonn because West Germany has done more to stimulate the economies of its trading partners than other countries in a similar position.

The United States, Japan and the Federal Republic are generally termed the locomotives of world economy. But what is the actual state of these growth locomotives?

In the period from 1974 to 1976 there was no increase whatsoever in Japan's imports. At the same time the United

States boosted its imports by 14 per cent and the Federal Republic by a whopping 26 per cent.

In other words, foreign goods and services flowed into this country at a considerable pace.

Taking a closer look at last year's imports, we will see that the 20.3-per-cent increase over the previous year (bringing total imports to DM222,000 million) is not due to increased purchases of raw materials nor is it attributable to higher prices, which accounted for a mere three per cent.

Oil imports play a relatively modest role in the overall picture. Mining products which, for statistical purposes, include oil purchased abroad show an increase of 19 per cent.

Well above average, on the other hand, was the increase in the import of capital goods which amounted to 23 per cent, representing 22 per cent of total imports. The lion's share in this sector went to mechanical engineering, imports of which increased by 17.2 per cent, electronics, which increased by as much as 21.1 per cent, and motor vehicles, with 29 per cent.

Thus our foreign competitors got their fair share of this country's automobile bonanza in 1976. And since most of these suppliers are domiciled in France, Italy and Britain, two of the particularly weak nations received a beneficial shot in the arm.

But even in the consumer goods sector, which accounted for 15 per cent of our imports, our foreign competitors had no reason to complain about a lack of opportunity in this country's market. The increase in this sector amounted to just under 18 per cent, with plastics reaching 22.4 per cent. Textile imports, too, increased by close to 17 per cent,

and the sub-section clothing by 16 per cent.

All in all, the increase in our 1976 imports was about three times as high as the growth of our GNP and this can only be termed remarkable. Foreign suppliers benefited last year from the fact that the deutschmark was rising on foreign exchange markets. Moreover, the sustained, though slow, recovery of our economy engendered heavier demand for foreign products.

In analysing last year's imports according to countries of origin we will see that our European trading partners did rather well. Imports from the EEC increased by 17.2 per cent. The French share remained more or less average while imports from Britain rose by a startling 23 per cent. Italy was clearly below average, having achieved only 9.7 per cent.

Considerably more spectacular results were achieved by some other European countries. Imports from Switzerland, for instance, rose by 24 per cent and those from Austria by 29. But the developing countries, too, got their share. They supplied goods to the tune of more than DM45,000 million — an increase of 17 per cent over the previous year.

But import increases from the communist states topped all other countries. They rose by 26.8 per cent to DM10,980 million, achieving a five-per-cent share of overall imports (compared with 4.7 per cent in the previous year). All communist countries except North Korea benefited from this increase of DM2,300 million.

Particularly conspicuous was the rise in imports from the Soviet Union which amounted to DM1,120 million. Imports from Poland rose by DM483 million, Hungary DM227 million, Rumania DM203 million, People's Republic of China DM128 million and Czechoslovakia DM111 million.

Those who still demand that we do more for the world economy must be told that, if the cooperativeness of a country is to be measured by its willingness and ability to import, the Federal Republic of Germany has certainly pulled its weight.

Otto Schwarzer  
(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 19 March 1977)

## Caution advised at Western economic summit

Bonn hopes that the London summit will confirm the OECD agreements in which the parties concerned undertook not to introduce protectionist administrative measures.

Particular circumspection, Herr Rohwedder said, is called for where relations between Bonn, Tokyo and Washington are concerned. Bonn feels that some partners have latterly been gunning for each other. The steel industry in particular, Detlev Rohwedder pointed out, has embarked on a course contrary to the ideas of the Ministry of Economic Affairs under the cloak of the Montanvertrag (the European Coal and Steel Community).

Rohwedder expressed concern about the fact that Belgium's EEC Commissioner Etienne Davignon, yielding to pressure by his country's steel industry, has embarked on a conspicuously protectionist course. Says Herr Rohwedder: "Where our relations with Japan are

concerned we must desist from thinking in terms of dumping all the time."

If protectionist sins have been committed we must see to it that we do not lose our sense of guilt because only this can induce us to make amends.

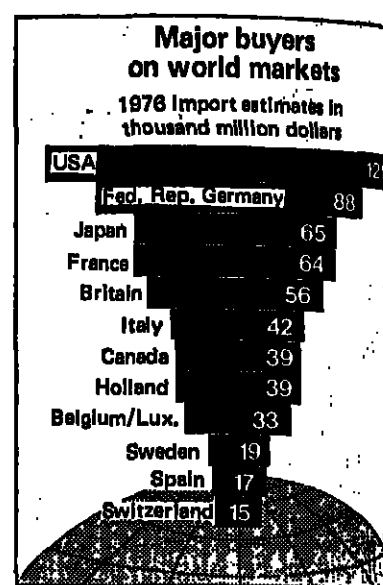
With regard to energy policy, Herr Rohwedder drew attention to the frustration that prevails at the Ministry of Economic Affairs. The court ruling as a result of which construction of the nuclear power station in Wyhl had to be discontinued has taken the wind out of the Ministry of Economic Affairs' sails.

Herr Rohwedder stressed that there was no getting around the fact that the industrial nations will be faced with bottlenecks in their oil supplies in the eighties. Nuclear energy was intended to account for nine per cent of the overall energy supply in the OECD nations by 1985. Should we fail to achieve this target — and this is quite conceivable under present circumstances — our oil demands would increase by 1,000 million tons.

But the shortage will be noticed with the first barrel we fail to receive — and not only in 1985.

And since prices will "skyrocket" as soon as this contingency arises, the developing countries will bear the brunt of this situation.

(Handelsblatt, 21 March 1977)



## Trade surplus modest, says Bundesbank

Köln: Stadt-Anzeiger

The Bundesbank has countered criticism concerning the Federal Republic's trade surpluses. In its latest monthly report, the Bundesbank drew attention to the fact that, more than other countries, West Germany must have trade surpluses in order to offset its deficits in the service industry and the extremely high transfers abroad.

According to Bundesbank figures, the country achieved a trade surplus of DM41,200 million in 1976. B. DM33,700 million had to be used to offset trade deficits in the service industry and in transfers.

The services particularly affected include the travel and holiday business, commissions, trade fairs and advertising costs. Transfers involve primarily foreign workers' money transfers to their home countries, payments of pensions to other social benefits to foreigners, contributions to international organizations and non-repayable development aid.

According to the Bundesbank report, the deficit in the transfer balance alone amounted to DM17,700 million in 1976. Of this amount, DM4,400 million was transfers of pensions and social benefits to foreigners. Foreign workers' money transfers to their home countries amounted to DM11 million and DM3,700 million was paid to EEC funds.

The Bundesbank criticised the fact that the International Monetary Fund does not include government transfers abroad (DM9,400 million in 1976) in its trade balance. The Bundesbank said that the surplus is therefore seemingly very large.

According to the Bundesbank, the actual surplus in 1976 amounted to DM7,500 million. This is a mere 0.7 per cent of GNP, which means that the Federal Republic is rather close to having a trade balance. The Bundesbank said to say that, taking into account its role in the service industry's foreign trade and foreign transfers, this country remains the largest net importer of goods.

Moreover, with its disproportionate increase in imports, which amounted to 21 per cent, rising to DM214,000 million, the Federal Republic has a considerable market and a booster for the economies of its trading partners.

(Köln: Stadt-Anzeiger, 18 March 1977)

## ■ MARKETS

## More and more German firms take the US plunge

America has been rediscovered — 500 years after Columbus crossed the Atlantic. The massive buying power of the States has made that country an interesting proposition for West German investors.

Volkswagen is erecting an assembly plant for its "Rabbit" in Pennsylvania. Daimler-Benz is considering the acquisition of certain plants of White Motors, which is in financial straits at present, and Linde has recently bought a stake in the forklift truck business of the Oils Elevator Company in New York.

But the big capital trek to America is spearheaded by the chemical industry. This country's major chemical concerns have for some time been manufacturing in the country of unlimited opportunities. And smaller, though equally fine, chemical companies are following suit. The most recent of them is Degussa, which intends to invest some 150 million dollars in Alabama by 1978.

According to the Bonn Ministry of Economic Affairs, this country's investments in America stood at DM5,400 million at the end of 1976. But this figure only includes capital transfers across our borders and not transfers made from Luxembourg and other financial centres. Appreciation and re-invested profits are also not included in this figure. If one were to include all this, the actual value of West German investments in the United States would amount to DM7,000 million.

Transfer figures are nevertheless indicative of the growing interest of this country's business in the acquisition and establishment of companies in the United States.

While, in the early seventies, West German investments in America rose by about DM300 million annually, this figure reached the DM1,200 million mark by 1976.

This is clearly an investment record. Meanwhile Germans are currently investing more in America than vice versa (American investments in the Federal Republic amounted to DM800 million in 1976).

But the sum total of US investments in this country, again using capital transfers as a yardstick, still by far surpasses German investments in the United States, amounting to DM18,000 million.

Granted, it is no accident that the increase of German investments in America coincides with a radical change in foreign exchange parities. The days are over when Americans could buy German factories out of their petty cash box, so to speak, and transactions in the opposite direction were prohibitively expensive. A dollar no longer costs four deutschmarks but a mere DM2.50.

The revaluation of the deutschmark has made investments in the United States cheaper and — even more important perhaps — it has more or less equalised production costs.

While actual hourly wages are still higher in the United States, additional costs caused by social security contributions and the like are considerably lower. Moreover, energy and raw materials are available at a reasonable cost. And freight charges are diminishing the more production rests on American component parts. All this makes it quite prof-

itable to supply the American market from a factory located in that country.

The question of costs, while important, is not the main motivating force behind German investments in the United States. The main reason is the physical presence on the world's largest market and proximity to the customer. This makes it possible to react more flexibly to demand, be it for goods or services, and to guarantee shipments (an aspect of paramount importance in the chemical industry) while at the same time capturing a larger share of the market without bogging down in the jungle of tariff regulations.

While more than 11 per cent of West Germany's direct investments in the post-war era went to the United States, in certain individual branches of industry this proportion is even higher. The chemical giant Bayer, for instance, concentrated 40 per cent of its foreign investments in the United States. Bayer's sales in America amount to approximately 800 million dollars per annum of which 85 per cent is accounted for by the concern's American output.

The American market is not only important for our chemical industry because it is demanding and because only topnotch products stand a chance, but also because the Americans are extremely domestically orientated where chemicals are concerned, of which they buy only five per cent abroad.

In other words, one must be on the spot if one is to make a sale. This consideration was also the motivating power behind Degussa's decision to erect a factory in Alabama. The cyanurichloride which Degussa will manufacture in its US plant will be sold primarily to Shell, which intends to process it as a weedkiller in its Alabama factory. There is every likelihood that Shell would have found shipments of that chemical from Germany too unreliable.

The German-American Chamber of Commerce in New York recently drew attention to the fact that it is more than ten years since a European airliner was sold to the United States.

Is trade between the United States and Europe strictly one-way where highly sophisticated technical products are concerned? This certainly seems to apply with regard to airliners and complex weapons systems.

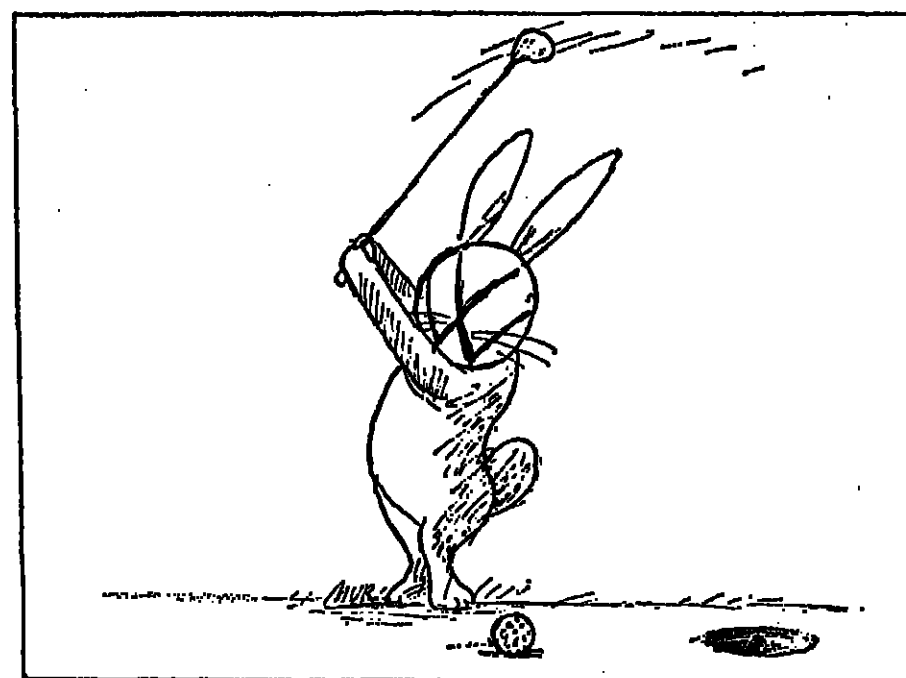
Europe's aviation industry has in the past few years managed to develop internationally marketable products in certain sectors.

The German-American Chamber of Commerce includes among these products the A 300 Airbus, VFW-Fokker's range of aircraft (the F 27, F 28 and VFW 614) and the Tornados. MRCA European fighter plane. And, finally, the Anglo-French Concorde is certainly an enormous achievement.

But persistent efforts to gain a foothold in the United States with the A 300 Airbus have so far failed to lead to a sale. At the beginning of the year, Western Airlines seriously considered buying the Airbus, only to settle for an American aircraft in the end.

The VFW 614 German jet also failed to get a hoped for order from the US Coast Guard.

According to the Chamber, even the



VW Rabbit on the US green  
(Cartoon: Lutz Munschütz/Süddeutsche Zeitung)

Furthermore, freight costs of light but bulky chemicals to the United States would have been disproportionately high. This is a consideration which carries less weight for the automobile industry. But even so, freight costs played a considerable role in VW's feasibility study for its American plant.

Still, with 40 per cent of the component parts for the "Rabbit" having to come from the Federal Republic, Volkswagen will be unable to rid itself of freight charges entirely.

But this alone is unlikely to induce VW to use American components for its "Rabbit."

True, VW's chief executive pointed out that mass produced components could be bought more cheaply in the United States, but before this can be done American manufacturers must meet VW standards.

In keeping with the general trend, VW's headquarters in Wolfsburg stress the importance of an operational base close to the customer because it eliminates the "pipeline effect." This is the tedious time-lag between the exploration of new customers' wishes and their implementation at the German assembly line. Including transportation, it can take

## America chary of buying European advanced technology

refusal of the New York Port Authority to grant the Concorde landing rights at Kennedy Airport must be viewed as an obstacle to the development of highly sophisticated European technology. Incidentally, the decision about landing rights for the Concorde has been postponed once more and will now probably have to be settled in court.

America's leading role in sophisticated weapons systems is still undisputed, although Europe has some genuine alternatives to offer in certain sectors.

First successes seemed within grasp in connection with the new generation of tanks for Nato. In an agreement between Bonn Defense Minister Georg Leber and the former US Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld dating back to July 1976, the two countries agreed to standardise by America's adopting the gun of Germany's tank Leopard II which in turn would be equipped with the engine of the XM-1 American tank.

Optimists even went so far as to hope that one of the two tanks — be it the

Leopard II or the XM-1 — would emerge victorious following tests.

These tests were carried out in the United States by that country's Armed Forces. According to the Chamber it would "have been a miracle if the Leopard had won the test."

The New York Times writes that US Army experts said that the Leopard was 30 per cent more accurate in target-shooting than the XM-1. Moreover, the still classified report is said to have established that the Leopard had a longer range and a lower fuel consumption as well as being more reliable than its American counterpart. But even so, the "mini agreement" concerning the uniform gun and propulsion is no longer certain. The US Army evidently finds it difficult to replace the planned 105 mm gun by the German 120 mm gun before 1985.

According to the Chamber, this development is inconsistent with the statement by the new US Secretary of Defense Brown who announced that his country would embark on a closer cooperation with its European allies.

It would be regrettable, said the Chamber of Commerce, if Mr. Brown had been motivated only by the hope that the European allies would adopt the American Airborne Warning and Control System (AWACS).

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 23 March 1977)

## ■ SHIPPING

## US trust-busters aim at North Atlantic shipping conferences

Trust-busters at the US Justice Department have set their sights on the North Atlantic shipping conferences. "Nothing will come of the move," a spokesman for Hapag-Lloyd, Hamburg composedly comments, while VDR, the Federal Republic Shipowners Association, rates the exercise "an attempt by young college graduates out to make a name for themselves by conducting probes that are poles apart from practical considerations."

The "young college graduates" have indeed fielded heavy artillery. In a report concluded in February they accuse North American and European members of the conferences of "reducing the volume of world trade" by jointly fixing freight rates and distribution.

They also stand accused of delaying the use of cost-cutting innovations in shipping and, by virtue of limiting exporters' access to less expensive modes

of shipping, of behaving in a manner befitting "monopolists out to maximise profits."

These accusations constitute one of the weightiest attacks ever on the shipping conference system, which has been in existence for more than a century.

The anti-trust agency has selected a ten-year period and noted that in this period freight rates have been increased by amounts varying between 34 and 149 per cent.

Exporters who rely on regular shipping services have no option but to knuckle under to price increases. Exporters urgently need more wide-ranging competition, the agency argues, advocating abolition of the US Shipping Act of 1916, which ensures conference shippers immunity from anti-trust legislation.

Tooth-and-nail competition for freight would ensue, which is of course what the US Justice Department envisages, but the Federal Republic Shipowners Association is afraid that owners would go to the wall before long, leaving exporters worse off than previously.

The trust-busters certainly mean business, as they demonstrated last year. In September they embarked on their bid to bust trusts on the high seas by starting proceedings against seven US and European shipping companies, including this country's Hapag-Lloyd.

Hapag-Lloyd were required to submit to Washington documents of all kinds relating to rates, terms and other agreements with shipowners, forwarding agents, exporters and recipients involved on North Atlantic routes.

The trust-busters requested not only financial statements but also letters, telegrams, teletype messages, protocols, copies of speeches, photos, maps and charts, tape recordings and even appointment book and diary notes.

### Bonn earmarks an extra DM 50 mill.

Great expectations need not be placed in the supplementary aid programme to boost domestic shipbuilding, according to the Federal Republic Shipowners Association, Hamburg.

The association has called for more effective provisions in respect of subsidies towards newly-commissioned tonnage. More cash must be made available and the terms need improving.

The Federal government has earmarked an additional fifty million deutschmarks in shipbuilding subsidies, increasing percentage aid to owners from twelve and a half to seventeen and a half.

This supplementary measure is not intended to boost the merchant navy, however, the association claims. It represents no more than an increase designed to offset spiralling costs.

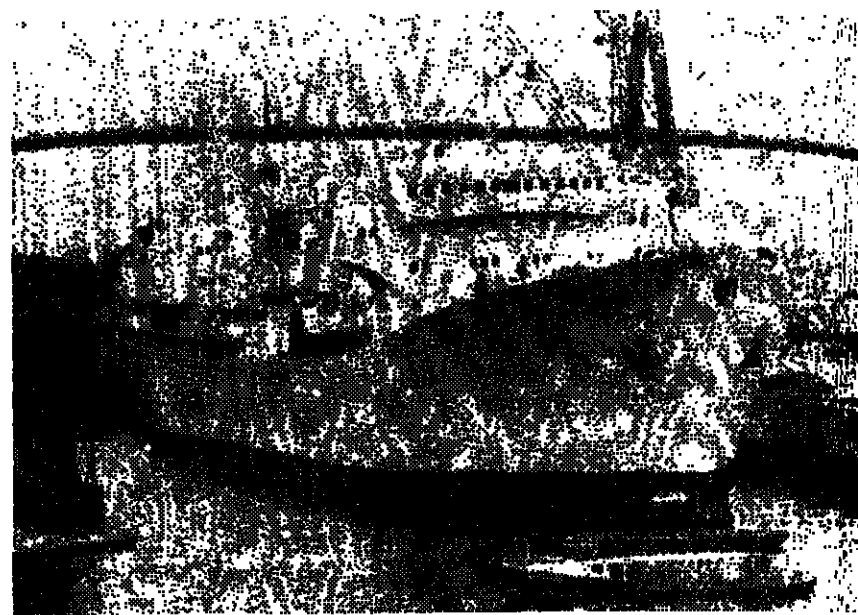
A more suitable move, shipowners feel, would be the investment allowance proposed by shipyards towards the cost of building new vessels and refitting existing tonnage. Yards have also called for grants towards reorganisation.

Owners nonetheless view as a step in the right direction the requirement that subsidised tonnage be registered in this country for at least eight years (as against ten).

Government aid to shipbuilding is also possible via development aid allocations, assuming that Third World countries commission ships from yards in this country.

The Bundeswehr has also announced plans to invest 2,300 million deutschmarks in the construction of new frigates. This too should help shipyards to ride out the doldrums.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 19 March 1977)



The nuclear freighter Otto Hahn (Photo: Contif)

## Hapag-Lloyd to sail nuclear freighter

Otto Hahn, the 16,870-GRT nuclear-powered bulk cargo freighter, will fly the Hapag-Lloyd ensign from April. Hapag-Lloyd of Bremen, Hamburg, the country's largest shipping line, are keen to gain experience in handling the nuclear merchantman, a spokesman for the company stated in Hamburg on 15 March.

This constitutes sufficient paperwork to fill several containers and would take two or three years to sift through.

As yet, however, it looks as though Hapag-Lloyd will emerge unscathed. The Bonn Transport Ministry has hitherto placed an embargo on the provision to foreigners of shipping policy documents and seems likely to refuse permission yet again.

British, French, Swedish, Dutch and Belgian shipowners, who are all similarly indicted, have likewise lodged protests and refused to supply information on the ground that they are legally prevented from so doing.

America's trust-busters are none too popular in their own country, and if they stick to their guns shipowners hope that President Carter will intervene.

Mr Carter is a former naval officer and committed to furthering the interests of US merchant shipping. He is hardly likely to allow the Justice Department to bring not only foreign but also US shipowners to the brink of bankruptcy merely because the trust-busters are committed to the principle of competition at all costs.

Frank Otto

(Die Zeit, 18 March 1977)

## Call for higher shipbuilding subsidies

Government subsidies towards shipbuilding in other European countries are perceptibly higher than in the Federal Republic, Hermann Nö, president of Bremerhaven chamber of commerce and industry, claims.

Herr Nö has compared the support measures undertaken by a number of European countries to aid ailing shipyards. These measures, he notes, are undertaken individually and without regard either for standard procedures within the Common Market or for OECD regulations.

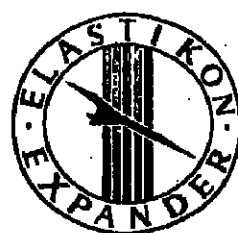
In terms of the number of shipyard workers, Bonn would need to subsidise shipbuilding to the tune of 700 million deutschmarks rather than the current figure of 180 million if this country's aid to shipbuilding were to bear comparison with Holland's.

As for subsidies granted to shipowners, Hermann Nö reckons that even taking the increase from 12.5 to 17.5 per cent into account this country's aid to shipowners is still six per cent lower than that granted by the Dutch government.

Norway, for instance, subsidises shipyard orders placed at home by domestic owners to the tune of eighty per cent of the purchase price over a period of twelve years, and when Norwegian yards clinch export orders the government underwrites an additional fifteen to twenty per cent of the credit facility.

In Sweden the government appears to be contemplating 100-per-cent subsidies, including a thirty-per-cent stake that is non-refundable in certain circumstances. Britain and France underwrite ship-

Continued on page 11



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## ■ STAGE

## Bochum Bible spectacular attempts the impossible

A strange first night it was in Bochum where the Kammerspiele put on Belgian director Franz Marijnen's *The Bible*. There was scattered, hesitant applause as the curtain came down, but it did not last long, since none of the actors stepped forward to take a bow.

In the final scene they had divested themselves of their clothes, put aside their few worldly possessions, torn and tattered cases and bundles of clothes, and disappeared in double file into dark cells foreboding of death in the gas chamber or some such.

As they trooped off a couple in modern dress who had been reciting pieces of dialogue from Beckett's *Waiting for Godot* set out from the land of milk and honey to some unknown destination, having decided that "we cannot stay here."

This final scene was the climax of two and a half hours of uninterrupted confusion, violence, blood and thunder.

Franz Marijnen, it may be recalled, recently directed Oskar Panizza's satirical, blasphemous, grandiosely upstart tragedy *Das Liebeskonzil* (The Council of Love) in Hamburg.

His Bochum spectacular might more aptly have been entitled *Scenes from the Bible*, or indeed *Scenes from the Old Testament*, since only one scene, *Salome*, was taken from the New.

It was doubtless intended in Panizza's vein as an indictment of a God who has deserted the world he created and allowed his creation, Mankind, to wreak its own destruction.

Blasphemy, satire and an unswerving desire to bring about happiness on Earth are close companions. Enlightenment can easily descend to the level of the trite and banal.

The Bochum spectacular certainly runs this risk. It tries to walk a tightrope spanning contradictions, but is not always successful in the attempt. There are times when doubt gains the upper hand.

It goes somewhat against the grain,

for instance, to read in the programme a "special acknowledgment" to "Dr Sofer and Cecil B. DeMille."

Now and again religious sentiment and tact clash, as when Job is seen ensconced in a wheelchair, a human wreck, and the woman who is pushing him around remarks that God gives everyone his just deserts. Or, for instance, when there is an on-stage demonstration of Biblical rules of hygiene for women during menstruation.

Even so, there can be no gainsaying that the plot assembles a succession of scenes that convey a message and do so with compelling beauty.

Set designer Jean-Marie Flévez is a stage magician. He works with flowing white expanses of cloth that blow across the black stage in the storm.

He uses few but meaningful props, such as broad steps leading up to the Tower of Babel and huge chunks of masonry on which warriors stand, armed with wooden staves, before they take arms. Flévez's sets bear witness to an unusual vivacity in succession from mythical to present-day scenes.

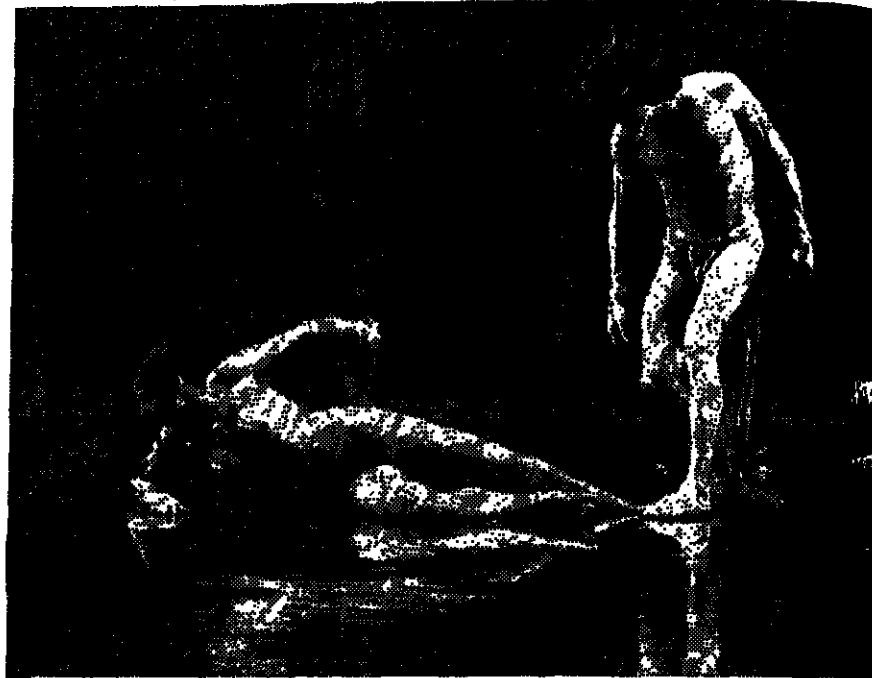
The evening begins with black-clothed actors seated on black chairs murmuring in several languages. They hold Bibles in their hands, turning the pages while an angel in white on one side of the stage sings "In the beginning was the Word."

Adam and Eve are welcomed with a hallelujah, the curtain rises and the story of Mankind begins with Cain murdering Abel.

What is the Bible? A treasury of tales of ambition, murder, fornication, plagues, expulsions, jealousy and lechery. Sodom and Gomorrah, on which the Lord passes judgment.

The Bible is shown exclusively in this light and the New Testament Saviour is a distant prospect who is shown in the final scene to have dashed the hopes placed in him.

The meaning of the evening's entertainment is surely that the Old Testa-



Adam and Eve on stage in the Bochum production of *The Bible*, directed by Franz Marijnen (Photo: Thomas Ehlhorn)

ment world has remained unchanged. David's bout with Goliath is shown as a latterday fight, with a ringside announcer outlining the action as though we were in Madison Square Gardens.

Judith's story is shown both in Biblical and in modern guise. Solomon lies idly in his bed and wonders, in English, why he feels so lonely. The spectacular is certainly billed as entertainment.

Marijnen retains superb control over his company, who move strictly according to the choreography, miming pride and humility, defeat and confusion.

True enough, the choreography is exact and demonstrative, the music (composed by Peer Raben, with a little help from Bach, Chopin and jazz) a substantive and not just decorative part of the whole. But one is still left with a feeling of uncertainty.

The Bible is dealt with in a somewhat cavalier fashion, portrayed in one-dimensional terms and using modern, at times unduly forthright turns of phrase.

Much of the Bochum *Bible* seems to have been designed to create an effect, and the sets verge at times on the arts and crafts scene.

Hans Schwab-Felisch  
(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 21 March 1977)

## Theatre-goers are still mainly middle-class

The stage often blames TV for the declining interest in live theatre, but this is surely no more than a minor consideration, to judge by a survey of theatre-goers' social structures recently undertaken in Hamburg.

Nearly eight thousand theatre-goers were questioned, selected so as to represent a cross-section of the stalls, circle and gallery audience in the city's 16 theatres.

Roughly one person in four in Hamburg regularly goes to the theatre. Audiences have been on the increase of late so this is probably a fair claim.

Theatre-goers in the main have benefited from higher education and come from higher income groups. More than fifty years ago the Volksbühne was set up in various German cities with a view to providing lower income groups with regular night out at the theatre.

audience social structures do not seem to have changed much over the years. People who never go to the theatre do not do so because they have no time because they are not interested.

Always assuming the theatre-goer questioned really do represent a fair cross-section, it comes as a further surprise to learn that they are not unduly interested in political issues.

Twelve per cent of students and schoolchildren regard politics as a prime consideration, but they are the exception, not the rule. This is probably because the wave of political theatre swept the country a few years ago has now ebbed.

Entertainment comes first, followed by the desire to learn something new, and this scale of priorities applies to all sectors of the population.

It is also worth noting that theatre-goers in Hamburg are fairly even-handed in going both to the three municipal theatres and to the dozen private ones. What is more, only a handful — more than five per cent in any one social group — claim to go to the theatre partly because they enjoy "seeing and being seen."

This too is worth noting in an age when corduroy trousers and polo-necked pullovers are seen even at first night.

(Nordwest Zeitung, 18 March 1977)

## ■ WRITING

## Tucholsky's letters from exile — did they deserve such ruthless editing?

Kurt Tucholsky's withdrawal from literature into silence that began in the late twenties and was completed by 1932 has provided his readers and opponents with ample food for thought.

This withdrawal was interpreted as the resigned retreat from political commitment and desertion in the face of the fascist tide that threatened to engulf the country on the part of Germany's most eloquent critic of conditions in the Weimar Republic. Tucholsky's contemporaries saw only that he had thrown in the towel, they heard him say "without me" — an admission of failure the reasons for which eluded them.

1962 saw the publication of the "Selected Letters" and thus the first authentic testimony to his life at that time. The letters published in that volume date from the time after 1932. They shed some light on his last years. This is particularly true of the letters to Walter Hasenclever.

But the just published letters addressed to the woman who was closest to him during his years of silence contribute incomparably more towards lifting the veil from those years.

Who was "Nuuna" as Tucholsky tenderly called her? She was Hedwig Möller, the common-law wife of Tucholsky. She lived and worked in Zurich where she died in 1971.

Hedwig Möller, the daughter of an industrialist, was a committed and active socialist. When Tucholsky met her in 1932 she was 40. After his painful separation from his wife Mary he found in her a patient and understanding companion to whom he could reveal his innermost thoughts — a motherly lover.

From November 1932 until September 1933 and then again in June of 1934 they lived together in her Zurich home. In 1934 and 1935 Nuuna spent her vacations at Tucholsky's coastal retreat in Sweden.

During the rest of the time correspondence had to substitute for physical closeness and discussion. Tucholsky wrote regularly — a total of 263 letters consisting of 362 sheets, most of them written on both sides of the paper.

These letters were augmented by 118 sheets of the so-called Q-diary (the letter Q stands for the German word "quaseln", meaning chatter). The originals are now housed in the Marbach Archives.

Tucholsky's letters are marked by a passionate vivacity which demonstrates his high standard as a letter writer. "A letter," he once said, "is not intended as a documentation of facts but as a zephyr to convey me to the recipient's sphere."

Continued from page 10

the children prefer to make common cause.

Admittedly, this may not be much of a conclusion, but life being what it is, there is probably none better.

Reiner Lückert's directing is cheerful and precise. Maurice Bache's sets are witty and practicable. Grips Theater has again effortlessly demonstrated the company's theatrical and educational ability. *Valermutterkind* is fun combined with meaning, and Birger Heymann's music gives it added verve. The play can be sure to be translated into at least a dozen languages.

(Kleiner Nachrichten, 16 March 1977)

But above all and more than anything else, Tucholsky's letters are testimonies of spontaneity — written glimpses of his everyday life.

Unconcerned about style and formulation, he simply permitted his thoughts and feelings to gush forth. It is this very unstylised directness with which he expressed himself that lends his words authenticity.

But even these love letters are mostly bleak and painful. The sporadic bits of humour are clearly a humour of desperation.

Tucholsky's day-to-day life that unfolds before the reader opens a vista of suffering. There is virtually no letter in which he does not speak of illness and pain, of sleeplessness and anxiety reminiscent of Franz Kafka and Heinrich Heine.

Only now, with the publication of these letters, has it become obvious that Tucholsky was truly a sick man. He suffered for many years from a nose ail-

ment that deprived him of the sense of smell and taste. His continuous headaches robbed him of sleep unless he drugged himself. He had to be operated on seven times in the post-1932 era. All this overtaxed him emotionally and he felt "tired, listless — in short, a nonentity." Tucholsky's suffering was both of an organic and a psychological nature. As Thomas Mann's son Klaus once said of himself, Tucholsky, too, was a "sick, neurotic mouse — a melancholy hypochondriac." His satire, like that of all great satirists in world literature, was anchored in sadness about the futility of his endeavours.

In purely formal terms, the letters to Nuuna are frequently a mixture of diary and essay, equally revealing the lonely man's obsessions and the attacking satirist's claws. The letters' tone is ironic-paradigmatic, a play with masks and pseudonyms as well as a juggling with words. But there is a simple explanation for all this: Letters from Sweden went via the Third Reich and Tucholsky wanted to cover his tracks.

The letters to Nuuna, published under the title *Briefe aus dem Schweigen* (Letters from Silence), are the most important documents of Tucholsky's life and thoughts during the last three years prior to his suicide. In their uniqueness these letters are comparable to those of Joseph Roth, those of Kafka to Milena and the recently-published Karl Kraus letters to Sidonie Nandhermy.

Tucholsky's letters reveal his futile efforts to become a naturalised Swedish citizen, his financial worries (he received financial support from Hedwig Möller), his attempts to learn French and Swedish and the constantly postponed marriage to Nuuna because financial dependence would have humiliated him.

It is surprising to see the intensity with which he observed and commented on political events of the time. He was deeply disappointed by the West's and the Soviet Union's weak and unprin-

ciple policy vis-a-vis Nazi Germany. This, he wrote two weeks before his death, was the deepest disappointment of his life — a disappointment he was unable to get over.

Wherever he looked he saw the triumph of business interests and bureaucracy. The "internationale of nationalism" was at work everywhere. He astutely diagnosed the strength of the Nazis as the weakness of their opponents, and he was certain that the next world war was in the offing. Spiritually, he orientated himself more and more towards France, since everything German was besmirched with blood for him. The anti-national, anti-democratic and anti-parliamentarian *Ordre Nouveau* movement was for him the closest thing to a radical self-criticism and the kind of positive ideology which, in his eyes, Marxism no longer represented.

A dialectic of enlightenment took place within Tucholsky — an enlightenment no longer capable of transcending itself.

It was by no means coincidental that the sceptical moralist, to whom Schopenhauer had always been more important than Marx, devoted himself towards the end of his days more and more to the works of the French mystic Charles Péguy and the Scandinavian existentialist Søren Kierkegaard.

But even so, Tucholsky retained the strength to commit himself whenever the effort seemed worthwhile. He petitioned the Swiss *Bundesrat* (Senate) on behalf of Berthold Jacob who had been kidnapped by the Nazis, and attempted to intervene with various institutions on behalf of Carl von Ossietzky who was languishing in a German concentration camp.

Why did he commit suicide? The letters to Nuuna make it to some extent understandable that he wanted to take his own life, but they fail to explain the act itself.

The suffering inflicted on Kurt Tucholsky by conditions in Germany began in the mid-twenties when it became obvious that the revolution had failed and that the Wilhelmian *Weltanschauung* was seemingly there to stay. He withdrew in stages — first from Germany, then from literature and finally from life itself.

Tucholsky was a sick man, a disappointed apostle of enlightenment, a bourgeois who had run away from his class and who, in the end, became spiritually homeless. But he was never a tra-

Continued from page 8

yard's operational losses in order to keep orders coming in. Measures such as these constitute an accurate assessment of the situation, demonstrating as Herr Nö does its governmental determination to help shipbuilding weather the calm.

The European Community, he adds, has unfortunately failed to eliminate the distortion in competitive position from which shipyards in this country have suffered for years.

According to the latest figures published by the Association of Federal Republic Shipbuilders, Hamburg, this country's share of world shipbuilding has slumped from seven per cent to a mere two and a half per cent. dpa

(Nordwest Zeitung, 23 March 1977)



Kurt Tucholsky  
(Photo: Tucholsky-Archiv)

ilor to his own cause. The strength he needed in order to write, however, was dwindling rapidly.

Thus the letters to Nuuna must take the place of those works by Tucholsky that remained unwritten. With these letters he succeeded in addressing posterity.

Under the circumstances it is hard to understand why the publishers decided not to present all the letters to the public but only patchwork à la Reader's Digest. One-third of the correspondence was simply swept under the carpet and the rest is presented in bits and pieces — for sampling, so to speak.

Hardly a single letter has been published in toto.

Although the publishers assure us that omitting parts of the text is not tantamount to falsifying, it is nevertheless hard to have faith in a work that familiarises us only with fragments.

The introduction promises "Eros and gentle passion," but since there is hardly a trace of it in the text it would seem reasonable to assume that the editorial pencil was ruthlessly applied. In any event, the pencil must have been used far in excess of mere "modest abridgements."

And why are the publishers not even contemplating printing Nuuna's letters in reply?

And the Q-diaries have been promised to us for some later date — in bits and pieces again.

Tucholsky deserves better. No-one wants to tell his heirs what to do or not to do, and the public has no right to lay claim to publication. But the fragmentariness of this edition does justice neither to the author nor to the public. In fact, the public would have had more understanding if the publication of the letters had been temporarily withheld.

Under no circumstances can the publishers justify their action by claiming that they are protecting a man's private sphere. Letters must inevitably give away intimate details. And those who publish them are well aware of this and therefore they must either publish them as a whole or not at all. Tucholsky was not such a 'gentle writer' that he could not be shown naked (and he himself was fully aware of this). But the publishers are presenting a 'Tucholsky' without lower extremities.

This does not prevent me from wishing the volume a large readership — seeing it is the best we have.

This volume once more bears out Arnold Zweig's words about Kurt Tucholsky: "The depth of desperation says nothing about the thing that engendered it, it only tells of the degree of sensitivity."

Uwe Schwelkert

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 19 March 1977)

## Berlin children's theatre hits right formula again

Lücker show how children become the victims of difficulties grown-ups have with each other.

Three case histories are outlined. The three families are portrayed imaginatively and in realistic detail so as not to appear too obviously parables.

— Herr and Frau Semmelroth argue over every little detail. Their son Hilmar is fed up with the endless arguments and decides that something must be done.

He pours enormous amounts of salt into his father's soup in anticipation of such a monumental argument that his father will start divorce proceedings, but unfortunately his plan boomerangs and he has his ears boxed by both father and mother.

— Frau Fischer has divorced her husband because he always wanted to have his own way. But Bernd, their son, feels

pulled one way and another between his parents, who are now separated. He wonders whether life might not be better if they were still together, arguments and all.

— Daniela's mother has been left in the lurch by her father. Because single-parent families and illegitimacy are still considered not quite de rigueur Frau Hesse keeps inventing all manner of husbands she has divorced or who have otherwise disappeared, but she gets her stories so mixed up that they only make matters worse.

At a children's birthday party Frau Hesse meets Herr Fischer and they decide to marry, but their children do not think much of the idea.

Realising intuitively that fathers and mothers cannot simply be swapped round, they torpedo the proposed marriage — and Frau Hesse is not, as it turns out, unduly upset.

What can be done in situations like these? The children on stage provide the answer. They realise, as Volker Ludwig's first-rate songs point out, that arguments are bad and anxiety breeds aggression.

Continued on page 11

*Stokkerloek and Millipilli* was the first play for children put on by Grips Theater in Berlin in 1969. Their first production was shown in the old Reichskabarett and the company used another name.

*Valermutterkind* is the company's sixteenth play. Between them they have been put on more than 250 times in no fewer than 21 languages. It is an unusual but only too comprehensible success story.

Industrial society and the free market economy present children everywhere with similar problems, no matter whether they are already firmly established or are merely establishing a foothold.

The Grips stable of playwrights, headed by Volker Ludwig, have shown proven ability to articulate these problems in a stageworthy manner.

The Grips playwrights have indeed been unerringly successful. Not one of their productions have been less than excellent. It has been a story of improvement without relapse.

*Valermutterkind* is billed as a family play for people aged eight and over. Playwrights Volker Ludwig and Reiner

Jahres 1977

## MEDICINE

### Berlin congress reviews latest developments in neurology

Contrary to the usual practice until only a few years ago, cross-eyed children should not be treated by covering one eye for extended periods.

It has now been established that this therapy could lead to a loss of sight for the covered eye. Research carried out on vertebrate animals in recent years proves that even a relatively short-term covering of one eye can cut off certain nerve connections. As a result, the central nervous system acts as if these connections were unnecessary and permits them to atrophy.

This switching off of nerve communications can only take place at a specific phase of the child's development — a phase which, where human beings are concerned, has not yet been clearly pinpointed.

It lies in the nature of the nervous system that temporarily disused nerve links can subsequently not be reactivated. Since these facts were established by researchers, eyes of cross-eyed children are covered alternately for short periods only. This prevents the central nervous system from switching off prematurely.

It is evidently a basic principle of nature that every organism is initially equipped with more nervous links than necessary. Researchers have established that Man is equipped with between two and eight times as many nerve cells as he retains in the course of his life.

The Ninth Dahlem Medical Conference in West Berlin, which was largely devoted to this issue, established that the genetic code cannot entirely antici-



pate how many nerve links will be needed. Says Professor Wolf Singer of the Max Planck Institute of Psychiatry in Munich: "It is evidently much more economical for nature not to burden the genes with this information but to obtain it from the environment."

Man's organism finds out by trial and error which nerve links belong together and are needed. In the course of this process, the meaningful is consolidated, and useless ballast is jettisoned. This "competition" for the preservation of optimal functions can perhaps best be explained by the fact that the cellular terminals of nerve fibres secrete (still unknown) substances which permit the right nerve fibre to be grafted onto it.

The Ninth Dahlem Conference on the "Function and Structure of Nervous Systems", which was attended by more than 50 scientists from eight countries, established above all the following facts: Our brain research is still in its infancy, and scientists are only just beginning to understand the simple patterns of nervous systems and the manner in which they operate.

Thus for instance Professor G. C. Stent of Berkeley, USA, explained at length how the nervous system of leeches, which consists of about 20 segments with 175 nerve cells each, works.

Professor W.E. Reichardt of Tübingen explained the processes by which the common house fly recognises shapes and movements. The Tübingen researcher has dealt with this problem for more than twenty years without having been able to answer all questions. Professor Reichardt said that he hoped to be able to conclude his work about the fly's ability to recognise shapes in about five years.

Other researchers delved into the nervous systems of worms, snails, frogs, fish, cats and apes.

But the fully developed human brain, weighing about 1.5 kilos and consisting of 10,000 million nerve cells, still mystifies scientists.

Only via the nervous systems of animals can we gain some insight into

the manner in which Man's central nervous system processes information.

But even if we still have a long way to go before fully understanding the human nervous system, the direct and indirect applications of research results in this field are still extremely manifold.

Thus for instance it is hoped that this type of research will provide information on how to restore certain functions of the senses, improve diagnostic methods in neurology as a result of a better understanding of the functions of certain brain centres and give insights into the connection between early childhood experience and the development of specific functions of the nervous system.

Research into the biochemical transmission substances for nerve impulses, which has become particularly topical following the discovery of neuro-transmitters containing morphia, can open up new therapeutic avenues in psychiatry.

Konrad Müller-Christiansen  
(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 16 March 1977)

### Cologne guide to 'Parenthood for Beginners'

Commissioned by the Ministry for Family Affairs, the Health Centre in Cologne has just published a guideline for young parents.

The 60-page brochure, which is entitled "The Baby", has a circulation of one million copies and is available free of charge.

The publication includes such chapters as "What You can do for Your Child During Pregnancy", "Rhesus Factor" and "Can Birth be Facilitated?".

Thirteen pages are devoted to the baby's diet, six to the care of the infant and fifteen to the infant's health. The objective of the publication is to assuage the anxieties of parents.

With regard to some chapters, however, it is justified to ask whether the whole thing warranted an expenditure of 700,000 Deutschmarks of the taxpayer's money... for instance: "The Daily Bath — Fun for the Father" or "Babies Need Sunshine and Air".

More precise and informative, on the other hand, is the appendix with such headings as "Your Good Right", "Protective Legislation for Mothers" and "What to do When a Child of Working Parents Falls Ill".

This country's legislation provides that a parent caring for a child aged up to eight is entitled to 'five days' worth of sickness benefits per annum.

(Kölnischer Stadt-Anzeiger, 19 March 1977)

### Lung specialist lambasts cigarette smoking again

Every smoked cigarette hastens death by 15 minutes. This is the conclusion arrived at by Professor Trendelenburg of the Homburg University Clinic.

In an article published in *Münchener Medizinische Wochenschrift* (Münch Medical Weekly) Professor Trendelenburg, a lung specialist, stressed that 600 harmful substances have been found in tobacco smoke so far. The inhaling of 20 cigarettes a day over a period of 20 years deposits six kilos of dust in the respiratory system.

Aware of these facts, the tobacco industry has been making an all-out effort to develop "defused" tobaccos, including the nicotine-free cigarette. Filters, too,

have been made more effective. But even so, says Professor Trendelenburg, "smoke is smoke."

Ideally, cigarettes should be free not only of nicotine but also of tar. And even then, short of forgoing the combustion process altogether, the only solution would be a filter that blocks out smoke entirely.

Following extensive polls involving patients with chronic bronchitis, Professor Trendelenburg arrived at the conclusion that only about 15 per cent of smokers are able to give up the habit without systematic help.

(Welt am Sonntag, 20 March 1977)

### Munich anaesthetists claim acupuncture successes

Confronted with the challenge of China's age-old empirical acupuncture method, modern anaesthesiology has been prompted to rethink.

The Federal Republic's Heart Centre reported 800 successful cases of electro-stimulation anaesthesia; and Munich University's Urology Clinic has administered 700 such anaesthetics so far.

Professor A. Doenicke of the Surgical Polyclinic in Munich reported on the results achieved by this method. His clinic has been using electro-stimulation anaesthesia in surgery for about ten years.

This process involves putting 18 needles into various parts of the human body and imparting to these needles an electric current of no more than 20 milli-amperes. It must however be pointed out that the classical acupuncture points are immaterial in this type of anaesthesia. The project group at the Surgical Polyclinic is equipped with apparatus enabling it to vary the electric current, thus providing the necessary dosage for electro-stimulation anaesthesia in accordance with case to case requirements. This is necessary because the electrical resistance of the skin and the tissues varies not only from person to person but also undergoes changes in the course of an operation.

As a result of such individual adjustments, even patients who suffer from circulation disorders or heart rhythm disturbances can safely be anaesthetised by this method. Moreover, this delicate control prevents burns which could otherwise occur at the points where the acupuncture needles have been inserted.

Electro-stimulation increases the pain threshold by at least thirty per cent. As a result, the dosage of painkillers to be administered can be reduced.

In cases of complicated abdominal operations, frequently lasting for five hours, the patient receives roughly the same amount of drugs as is normally used in outpatient treatment prior to administering anaesthesia.

This method does away entirely with the need for the very expensive and harmful (particularly for the liver) inhalation, anaesthetic halothane. Apart from electro-stimulation via the needles, the patient is administered only laughing gas. Due to the sparing use of pharmaceuticals, the patient feels considerably better following such an operation than he would after traditional surgery. It comes out of anaesthesia earlier, can breathe properly instantly and suffers less from side-effects.

According to Professor J. Kugler of the Neurological Polyclinic in Munich, acupuncture also has its place in treating pain. The insertion and twisting of the needles, slight warming up and electro-stimulation have the effect of changing the processing of bodily sensations — has been borne out by encephalography — thus reducing the ability to register pain.

Acupuncture has proved particularly successful in cases of spasmic pain of the shoulder area and the head as well as in the case of stomach ulcers.

The role played by suggestion in puncture treatment is still unclear. The same applies with regard to the physiological reactions and the so-called endorphins (morphine-like substances released by the brain).

A. Farthmann  
(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 16 March 1977)

## NATURE NOTEBOOK

### Pollution decimates bird life, ornithologist warns

A study carried out by the zoologist Bernd Conrad of the Zoological Institute of Freiburg University, in the course of which 457 eggs of native birds were examined, showed that none were free of pesticide and PCB deposits.

Had these eggs been intended for human consumption, they would have had to be destroyed.

The results of the study, which was carried out in 1974/75 in conjunction with the German Research Association and the Max Planck Society, have now been made public.

Bernd Conrad summed up his findings in a brochure entitled *Die Giftbelastung der Vogelei Deutschland* (Poisons Inflicted on Germany's Bird-life), published by Kilda-Verlag, Greven. Herr Conrad's analysis of 19 local bird species was prompted by the alarming reduction in the number of birds since the mid-fifties.

Initially, these losses affected primarily predatory birds, subsequently spreading to storks and seabirds. And as of late there is a growing number of songbirds affected.

Reports from virtually all parts of the world indicate that the causes of the diminishing bird population are the same everywhere. Man is the culprit number one in all instances.

West and South European countries lament the killing of songbirds by the thousands. Recreation activities interfere with hatching, birds' nests are robbed of their eggs and the natural habitat of the birds is interfered with by the destruction of hedges and unbridled construction activity.

On Lake Constance, the infamous mass slaughter of waterbirds during this year's open season by hunters from West Germany, Austria and Switzerland has just come to an end.

Many species of birds suffer from the fact that their food is contaminated by pesticides, harmful metals and PCB. Among the pesticides, the main culprits are Hexa (HCB), Lindan, Aldrin, Heptachlor and Dieldrin. Other noxious sub-

stances are softeners for paint and PCB (used in the plastics industry).

These harmful substances find their way into the birds' environment through the sewerage and garbage disposal systems. Like pesticides, they are absorbed by the birds in numerous ways.

Moreover, the natural habitat of the birds is shrinking, eggshells have become thinner and frequently break under the weight of the brooding hen, and fledglings die prematurely.

All these facts have been established by British, Dutch, American and Swedish ornithologists. But Bernd Conrad is the first to have drawn attention to this situation in the Federal Republic of Germany. His study demonstrates that the warnings issued by ecologists were only too justified.

Twelve predatory bird species have dwindled to such an extent that they are threatened with extinction. This was established two years ago by the ornithologist Dr Gerhard Thieleke of the Radolfzell bird-watching station.

They include the moor buzzard or marsh harrier, the peregrine falcon, the goshawk, the sparrowhawk, the sea eagle and the eagle owl. Other species facing extinction are the kite, the tree falcon and the honey buzzard.

Bernd Conrad established that this country's birdlife is particularly threatened in industrialised areas. But intensive agriculture also places birdlife in jeopardy.

His egg analysis showed that 97 per cent of the examined eggs contained two, 58 per cent three, 22 per cent four and 8 per cent five different pesticides in large quantities.

It has been established that the diminishing thickness of the eggshells is directly attributable to pesticides in the birds' bodies in five different species. It seems evident that some of these pesticides have an adverse effect on the calcium metabolism of the birds inasmuch as they affect the glands and thus the enzyme production.

Curiously enough, noxious substances

in the environment do not lead to thinner eggshells with all species. Bernd Conrad feels that this might be due to differing metabolism mechanisms or to differing food chains for the various species.

Most animals serve as food for other animals. There are clearly discernible food chains. Certain small animals are eaten by larger ones, and these in turn serve as food for still larger beasts.

If pesticides are washed into bodies of water, they are soon absorbed by unicellular creatures, and these are eaten by fish who, in turn, are eaten by birds. Thus the poison becomes cumulative within the various links of the food chain. The data made public by Bernd Conrad concerning dying birdlife in the Federal Republic must be viewed in conjunction with the general threat to animal life and the progressive extermination of more and more species.

Since every animal fulfils a specific function in nature, continuous decimation must affect the ecological balance.

Many songbirds, for instance, serve a useful function by eating insects. But it is quite conceivable that a point of no return could be reached and that a vicious circle could be set in train. Pests could multiply out of control for lack of natural enemies. This in turn would require the increasingly massive use of chemical pesticides which would accelerate the decimation of larger species with a longer life-span still further.

The dramatically increased number of gnats and mosquitoes in many parts of Europe is an indication that this development has already set in.

The cutting down of the forests in the southern regions of Europe, which turned them into barren wastes, has its parallel in today's world. In order to maintain our level of consumption and economic growth we are placing the ecology on earth in jeopardy. And the consequences of such an attitude must lead to disaster in the long run.

Theo Löbsack  
(Kölnischer Stadt-Anzeiger, 19 March 1977)

### Hamburg scientists recommend painless death for lobsters

The Federal Research Institute for Fisheries in Hamburg has declared war on those gourmets who maintain that a lobster is only good if boiled alive.

Experts term the traditional method of preparing a lobster barbaric, saying that "the death throes of the animals extend over a long period, primarily due to the heavy carapace which prevents swift heat penetration." Experiments have established that a swift and painless killing of the lobster by electrocution does not affect its food quality.

The experiments, in which three American and three European lobsters were used, were based on the animal protection legislation in this country, according to which the laws stipulating painless killing apply to marine animals as well.

The Hamburg researchers used an implement customary in the fishing industry, whereby a tank of water with



Sea eagle



Moor buzzard



Eagle owl

(Photos: Contipress, Archiv)

marine animals is exposed to electric shock for a duration of 30 seconds.

The contention put forward by chefs throughout the world that only the age-old method of plunging the live lobster into boiling water preserves the fine aroma of these crustaceans has been refuted by the Hamburg experiments. It has been established that, like in boiling, the lobster's tail curls under an electric shock. Connoisseurs have always considered the curled tail a sign of freshness and quality.

Moreover, none of the six experimental lobsters shed their extremities in the death throes resulting from electrocution as gourmets and opponents of a quick death claimed they would do.

The researchers pointed out that, when cooking lobsters that were put to death electrically, no sign of movement could be discerned, and it was clear that the lobsters died within a fraction of a second.

(Der Tagespiegel, 20 March 1977)

Further details from

**WILOFA-DIAMANT**

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